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ESTABLISHED 1887

PEOPLE James Brown to the Aid of N.Y. Schoolchildren...

Two New York Times reporters... Monday for their coverage of the events...

The country's western... Tammy Wynette was expected to be released from the hospital...

Kitty Dukakis... 1981 Democratic presidential nominee...

LOW COST FLIGHTS... INTERNATIONAL... EDITORIAL... VICES... Page 15 FOR MORE CLASSIFIEDS...

Classified Ad Quickly and Easily in the NATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE...

Ozone Peril Is Shocking Europeans Into Action

Amid Mounting Protest, EC Moves to Advance Chemical Ban to 1995

By Marilee Simons New York Times Service PARIS—Evidence of a threatened depletion of the Earth's protective layer of ozone over Northern Europe has jolted politicians and opinion-makers from Britain to Russia and prompted calls for more stringent environmental laws.

The findings for the first time raise the specter that a hole in the ozone may develop over the Northern Hemisphere as early as this spring.

The news has come as a shock to Northern Europe's environmentally aware public, and official reaction has been quick. Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands immediately announced new deadlines for banning the chemicals that are widely blamed for destroying ozone.

Setting the toughest deadlines anywhere, the three governments said they would halt production and use of such chemicals by the end of 1994. The United States had already decided to phase out the chemicals by 1996.

The 12-nation European Community, which normally has a more cumbersome gain, also acted swiftly. Environment ministers last week agreed to press for new cut-off dates for the harmful chemicals throughout the Community.

This month, a Community decision is expected to bring forward the current ban two years, to 1995.

Such new deadlines will put enormous pressure on Europe's chemical industries, which will be expected to step up production of the substitutes needed for such equipment as freezers and industrial refrigerators.

This will also mean that hundreds of makers of foam upholstery, fire extinguishers, insulation materials, solvents and many other items will have to move much faster to redesign their products.

Allowing for some exceptions, such as medical products like asthma relievers, the ban will apply to chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs, and other chlorine- and bromine-based chemicals, which are believed to be the main agents attacking the ozone.

If the European Community adopts an earlier ban on chlorofluorocarbons, which is likely, this would remove 30 percent of the world's

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A Debate on the Cost Of United Germany Expense of Reunification Spills Into Rest of Europe

By Erik Ipsen International Herald Tribune LONDON — German reunification, once widely seen as an unalloyed plus for the economies of Germany's European partners, is now increasingly being viewed as a burden. Reunification's costs, once assumed to be contained within Germany's borders in the form of higher taxes and interest rates, are instead seen as growing numbers of economists as spilling out across Europe.

Even the great good presumably wrought by the German boom of the last two years — a surge in export orders across the Continent — is seen in hindsight by many economists as having actually sapped growth in some European nations.

This year, with the German economy buckling under the weight of the immense cost of rebuilding the East, the German slowdown is widely expected to brake growth throughout Europe.

"We have now entered a more dangerous stage when the German recession will drag us all down," said Jonathan Royal, the director of studies at the Royal United Services Institute in London.

Many economists still insist that on balance reunification will have provided a boost for Europe as a whole, even if, as widely predicted,

the German slump were to clip one-half to three-quarters of a point off European growth rates this year.

But that contention is coming under increasing criticism. Several economists now say that Europe is having to bear the price of something over which it had no control: German reunification.

"In terms of direct fiscal contributions or subsidies, there has been no cost," said Brendan Brown, the head of Mitsubishi Finance International in London. "But in terms of squeezed out growth or investment opportunities, yes."

Germany's surplus savings, which once poured across its borders by the tens of billions of Deutsche marks into purchases of everything from high-yield British corporate debt to property in Portugal, suddenly ceased with reunification. A surge in demand for both consumer and capital goods in the East has absorbed those savings and more, leaving some of Bonn's European partners temporarily starved for capital and in some cases helping to ratchet up their interest rates.

Horst Siebert, the president of the Kiel Institute of World Economics, said Germany had swung to being an importer of 30 billion Deutsche

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A farewell Tuesday between two ex-Soviet troops near Vilnius as the pullout from Lithuania began.

Russian Units Caught Up In Republics' Ethnic Strife

Armenian Attack Halts Pullout, and Activists Attack Post in Moldova

By Michael Dobbs Washington Post Service MOSCOW — Russian troops on Tuesday found themselves the target of rising ethnic conflict in outlying regions of the former Soviet Union, undermining the attempts of the new Russian leadership to secure a peaceful retreat from empire.

The withdrawal of a regiment of former Soviet troops from the embattled southern enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh was temporarily halted after the unit came under attack by Armenian militants.

The Defense Ministry in Moscow said that one soldier had been killed in the attack, which followed an upsurge in fighting between Christian Armenia and Muslim Azerbaijan. The Armenians reported the loss of a helicopter carrying about 30 people.

In the western republic of Moldova, armed clashes were reported to be continuing for a second day after Moldovan activists seized arms from a garrison of the 14th Soviet Army.

Cossacks and Russian militiamen from a breakaway region of Moldova known as the Dniester republic came to the aid of the besieged army unit and at least two people were killed during ensuing battles, according to Russian news agency reports.

Soviet troops stationed in the Baltic republic of Lithuania, meanwhile, began a long-heralded pullout half a century after the region was annexed by Moscow in a wartime deal with Nazi Germany. But the Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis, complained that Russia was dragging its feet on the withdrawal, which he depicted as purely symbolic.

Taken together, the developments on Tuesday were a dramatic illustration of the problems facing the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, as he attempts to disengage his vast nation from its century-long quest for military control of the Eurasian landmass.

The rise in ethnic tensions in outlying republics also threatens the cohesion of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Two members of the Commonwealth, Armenia and Azerbaijan, are effectively at war with each other.

Moldova is wracked by civil strife between its ethnic Romanian majority and its Russian-speaking minority. The two largest republics, Russia and Ukraine, are at loggerheads over economic and military issues.

The sense that Russia is once again retreating from exposed positions was underlined on Tuesday when it became known that General Boris Gromov, the last commander of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, had been dispatched to Karabakh to supervise the withdrawal of the 366th Soviet motorized infantry regiment. The regiment is stationed in Stepanakert, capital of the predominantly Armenian-inhabited "autonomous province" of Azerbaijan.

Armenian leaders have condemned the decision to withdraw the regiment, believing that it could trigger an all-out attack on Karabakh by a 20,000-member Azerbaijani Army.

Armenian authorities reported on Tuesday

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U.S. Parties on Uncertain Footing in New World Order

By E. J. Dionne Jr. Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — As elections took place Tuesday in the largest set of presidential primaries so far this year, voters confronted two parties near a state of intellectual nervous breakdown.

In both parties, politicians are uncertain of their footing in a world without the Cold War and with an increasingly competitive economic order.

On Tuesday, there were primaries in Colorado, Georgia, Maryland and Utah as well as caucuses in Samoa, Minnesota, Idaho and Washington State.

For a conservative like Terry Eastland, a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, both parties are confronting "a colossal uncertainty" about the shape of the next political era.

A liberal like Jeff Faux, president of the Economic Policy Institute, said he was "awed by the lack of confidence the Democrats have in what they're supposed to stand for."

The divisions are clearest in the Republican Party, partly because the choice between President George Bush and Patrick J. Buchanan is stark. Almost alone among conservative leaders, Mr. Buchanan has embraced the end of the Cold War as a signal that conservatives should return to their pre-1940s roots with an anti-interventionist foreign policy and a much tougher approach to foreign trade.

Mr. Bush, faced with a much stronger challenge than he expected, has responded by labeling Mr. Buchanan's ideas as "isolationist" and "protectionist."

But Mr. Buchanan presents an even bigger problem for Mr. Bush. Because of his challenge, the Bush campaign faces a fiendishly complex set of calculations over how to run a primary free without endangering Mr. Bush's appeal in the fall — especially among lower-income conservatives who are already angry at Mr. Bush over the economy.

Mr. Buchanan threatens the Republican coalition because he is running explicitly and forcefully on issues that Mr. Bush and his allies had used with more subtlety in the past — and hoped to use again.

Both Mr. Bush and former President Ronald Reagan have used "traditional family values" as a rallying cry. Mr. Buchanan goes a step further, criticizing the Bush administration's stewardship of the National Endowment for the

Arts and charging that the endowment under Mr. Bush financed projects that "glorified homosexuality." Just how far right will Mr. Bush have to go to blunt Mr. Buchanan's appeal, especially among fundamentalist and evangelical Christians?

Mr. Bush insisted over and over that he was against racial "quotas" and did not shy away from using Willie Horton, a black convicted murderer, as a symbol of what he said was the Democrats' softness on crime. Now, Mr. Buchanan says Mr. Bush sold out his white, lower-middle-class constituents by signing the 1991 Civil Rights bill, which, Mr. Buchanan insists, will promote "reverse discrimination."

Mr. Bush has been reluctant to join a debate

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Bush, Feeling the Pressure, Calls '90 Tax Rise an Error

By Ann Devroy Washington Post Service ROSEMONT, Illinois — President George Bush, attacked from New Hampshire to Georgia for breaking his 1988 tax pledge, Tuesday repudiated his budget pact two years later that brought a tax increase and said that it had been a "mistake."

Pushed by campaign advisers the past weeks to "lance the boil" created by breaking his 1988 no-new-taxes pledge, Mr. Bush, first in an interview in Atlanta and then in Washington, made the acknowledgments. One senior official said campaign aides believed "he would never re-establish his credibility" if he did not acknowledge that he erred. The official said that "all his pledges ring hollow" without such a confession.

Mr. Bush made his statements as Georgians were going to the polls in his battle with Patrick Buchanan, the conservative who has hammered the president in television ads and speeches for reneging on the pledge that was the rhetorical highlight of his 1988 convention speech, his "read-my-lips" challenge that Democrats would try to force him to raise taxes but that he would never do it.

Mr. Buchanan has used the tax issue to attack Mr. Bush's credibility on virtually every other subject, and Bush aides saw stretching before them months of pounding on his credibility.

"The risk is this is going to look like an election-year conversion," an aide said, worrying about that there was "no good time to do it" without it appearing as if it was yet another switch in positions by Mr. Bush to get votes.

Until this week, Mr. Bush has staunchly defended the 1990 pact as necessary for the economy. Even on the day he was noting the agreement was a mistake in the Atlanta inter-

view, he was defending it in an interview with a Baltimore television station, WJZ.

In that interview, Mr. Bush made no mention of mistakes.

"Every once in a while, you got to do something that tastes like castor oil," he said, adding that the deal was needed to keep the government from being shut down.

Mr. Bush has made a series of moves this election year to appease voter concerns, including admissions that he had underestimated the strength of the recession, and the firing of the head of the National Endowment for the Arts because of controversy over its grants. He withdrew a number of small tax increases in his 1993 budget package and reconfigured the capital gains tax cuts to meet conservative concerns.

Mr. Bush appeared over the last two days to be leading up to the admission, telling an Atlanta television interviewer on Sunday that "anytime you get hammered on something, I guess you want to redo it." By Monday, in an interview with the Atlanta Journal, he said he would be "glad" to say the pact was the biggest mistake of his presidency.

In the same interview, Mr. Bush complained that the limits on domestic spending that were part of the pact had been "just overwhelmed by the fact that I went for a tax increase."

"And it's political grief," he said. He added: "Listen, if I had it to do over, I wouldn't do what I did then, for a lot of reasons, including political reasons."

On Monday, in an interview with the syndicated columnist Cal Thomas, Mr. Bush cited Ronald Reagan's agreement on tax increases that the former president came to regret.

"But he had to do it and he regretted it," Mr.

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SILENCE OF THE LAMAS — A Buddhist monk, megaphone in hand, keeping a wary eye on proceedings as masked performers made their way out of Beijing's Lama Temple on Tuesday for a traditional ceremony intended to drive evil spirits out of the city.

At U.S. Mafia Trial, a Wise Guy's Recounting of a 'Piece of Work'

By David Von Drehle Washington Post Service NEW YORK — Salvatore Gravano, "Sammy Bull" to the fellas who befriended him and lived to tell about it, took the stand in federal court and became the highest-ranking Mafioso ever to rat on the mob in public.

What he had to say was very bad for the defendant, John Gotti, reputed boss of America's most powerful Mafia family, the Gambino organization.

As expected, he went on the stand in federal court to say that Mr. Gotti planned and authorized the murder on Dec. 16, 1985, of Paul Castellano, Mr. Gotti's predecessor as the Gambino family boss.

Unexpectedly, Mr. Gotti's former right-hand man added another detail: Mr. Gotti was on the scene, he said. Half a block from Sparks Steak House in midtown Manhattan, on the fateful evening, Mr. Gotti and Mr. Gravano sat in a car and watched the murder unfold, ready as "backup shooters" to cut down Mr.

Castellano if he escaped the killers at the restaurant door. Mr. Gravano testified Monday.

On Tuesday, his second day on the stand, Mr. Gravano said that after the shooting Mr. Gotti and he drove past the bullet-riddled bodies of Mr. Castellano and his bodyguard, regarding the victims through the tinted glass of a Lincoln Continental.

The backups were not amateurs, according to the testimony.

"Nineteen," responded "Sammy Bull" when Assistant U.S. Attorney John Gleason asked how many murders he had participated in. Some victims were close associates, even friends, Mr. Gravano said, allowing that he was famous in organized-crime circles for killing people. He called it "doing a piece of work."

Months arrived when Mr. Gravano, amid tight security, entered the U.S. District courtroom in Brooklyn where Mr. Gotti and Frank (Frankie Loco) Locascio are on trial for murder, conspiracy and racketeering.

Until late last year, Mr. Gravano was scheduled to be sitting at his table. In the three-man "administration" of the Gambino family, Mr. Gravano was No. 2, he testified. He told the court about the day he swore, as the paper image of a saint blazed in his bare hand, that he would rather burn in hell than divulge secrets of "the brotherhood."

But then he got to thinking about the possible life-without-parole sentence facing him, and Mr. Gravano said he decided to turn state's evidence. This coup, the government hopes, will end Mr. Gotti's string of courtroom victories — four over the last decade.

On the stand, Mr. Gravano said no more than necessary, biting off "yes" and "no" like a naughty boy hauled before the principal. But gradually, details accumulated: how Mr. Gra-

vano, discharged from the army in 1966, was recruited to be a soldier in the Colombo family; how he was "released" to the Gambino family in 1972 after a "breef" with the Colombo crowd; how he rose quickly through such skills as arranging construction kickbacks, corrupting union officials and loaning money at exorbitant rates.

In 1976, Mr. Gravano testified, he became a "made member" of the Gambino family. At the initiation, the then-boss, Carlo Gambino, asked "would I kill for him," Mr. Gravano said. "I said yes. He said, 'Give me your trigger finger.' And he pricked it and put the blood on a saint. Somebody lit the saint on fire and burned it in my hand. He said if I ever divulged any of the secrets of this brotherhood, that my soul should burn like this saint."

At the ceremony, Mr. Gravano said, he learned the Mafia code of honor, which included bans on drug-dealing and "violating one another's wives or children." The first ban

contributed, almost a decade later, to the Castellano killing. Mr. Gravano testified.

Mr. Castellano's associates were unhappy with him for "quite a few reasons," Mr. Gravano said. Mr. Castellano was thought to be arranging crimes without cutting the family in on the proceeds, for example, and was believed to have sanctioned murder of a Gambino "captain" by another family.

The last straw came as rumor spread that Mr. Castellano was considering breaking up "captain" John Gotti's "crew" because members were dealing drugs, Mr. Gravano said. After receiving approval from heads of the other major New York Mafia families, the killing was arranged, he said.

At a meeting at Mr. Gravano's office, he testified, "we discussed we had to go on a piece of work the next day. We couldn't miss it. It had to be done."

Kiosk

Serbs on the March

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia (Reuters) — The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, said Tuesday night that Serbs were marching on Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, and he urged them not to enter the city. Officials said there would be an emergency meeting at the headquarters of the Yugoslav Army in Sarajevo.

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General News

Baker says Israeli aid is not tied to settlements in the occupied territories. Page 2.

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Table with exchange rates: The Dollar in New York, DM 1.7395, Pound 1.6675, Franc 131.085, FF 5.8315.



# Golan Heights: A Deadlock Over Land 'No One Cares About'

By Jackson Diehl  
Washington Post Service

EL KUNEITRA, Syria — Almost 18 years after Israeli forces withdrew from this town, a huge English-language sign remains the only touch Syrian authorities have added to one shattered brick building. "Golan Hospital: Destroyed by Zionists," the billboard proclaims.

The hospital has never been rebuilt, nor have the scores of other buildings in El Kuneitra, the one-time Syrian capital of the Golan Heights, which was dynamited and bulldozed by the Israeli Army before being returned to Syria after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

"The city will remain a memorial," insists its one remaining municipal employee, who is charged with lecturing foreign visitors. "That is because we consider the destruction of the city to have been an atrocity."

Such stubborn insistence on tending old ruins might seem counterproductive for Syria in contrast to Israel's accelerating construction of new Jewish settlements on the other side of the fortified border.

Yet the fact that the government of President Hafez Assad prefers a propaganda display to an urban center in El Kuneitra says much about what the Golan Heights means to Syria — and why peace talks with Israel, which has annexed the larger part of the territory, face such difficult prospects.

While Israelis tend to view the Golan as a strategic piece of ground, Syria's attachment to the rocky, volcanic territory appears founded in ideology, symbolism and regional politics. Far more important than the Golan's 1,300 square kilometers (500 square miles), Syrians say, is its role as an implement in their country's drive for Arab leadership and regional ascendancy over Israel.

"It's not the Golan that counts, it's how we get the Golan," said Abdullah Dardari, a Syrian journalist who works for a London-based Arabic newspaper, Al Hayat.

"Syria's raison d'être as a country and a regime is its regional role, its competition with Israel for regional influence," he said. "If we get back the Golan at too high a cost — if we allow the Israelis to dominate the region economically, diplomatically and militarily — then the Golan has no use for us. We can do without it for another 100 years."

For Syria, the recovery of the Golan through the U.S.-brokered peace negotiations with Israel could help its ambitions as a regional power broker, but only if it occurs under certain conditions.

First, officials say, Syria must recover all of the territory captured by Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, and all Israeli settlements must be removed. Otherwise, Mr. Assad's bargain with Israel might seem to be less than that obtained in 1978 by President

Anwar Sadat of Egypt, who insisted on obtaining all of the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula.

Moreover, the Syrians insist that any settlement appear to be part of a regional, "comprehensive" resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In that way, Syria could claim to lead the post-settlement Arab world, and Mr. Assad would be vindicated in his decade of opposition to Mr. Sadat's decision to accept a separate peace with Israel.

Not all of the Syrian Golan is as neglected as El Kuneitra. A small concrete town named after Syria's ruling Ba'ath Party has been built a few kilometers east of the ruins to house regional government and military officials, and officials say a couple of farming towns have been established near the frontier with Israel.

Still, the scene on the Syrian side contrasts markedly with that in the Israeli-occupied western Golan, where at least 11,000 Jews live in 32 settlements, and a small town, Katzrin, has usurped El Kuneitra's place as a regional center.

With no historical or ideological claim to this particular corner of the Arab territory captured in 1967, Israelis think of it mainly as a buffer zone that keeps hostile forces away from the western Golan ridge line, which towers over the Sea of Galilee and Israeli settlements in the nearby Hula Valley.

Although possession of the Golan may be less important to Damascus than the political process by which it is recovered, many Israelis conversely see their de facto presence on the ground as preferable to almost any combination of political accords and guarantees.

"The whole problem is that we are dealing with ideologies," an Arab diplomat said. "If there were oil or rich resources on the Golan that both sides wanted, then we could start working on that. But all we have is a piece of ground that no one really cares about, and two sets of fixed ideas about it that are completely out of touch with each other."

Hints of compromise proposals by Israelis and Syrians during their four months of bilateral negotiations have invariably been perceived by the other side as woefully inadequate.

Similarly, suggestions floated by non-Syrian Arab diplomats that Mr. Assad would agree to a demilitarized Golan, patrolled by international peacekeeping forces, in return for Israeli withdrawal fail to address Israeli expectations that any surrender of territory would be rewarded by the full normalization of relations between the two countries.

Israelis say there is no point in giving up strategic ground to Syria unless Damascus is willing to drop its opposition to the existence of Israel on what Syria regards as Arab territory.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Chief U.S. Human Rights Aide Quits

WASHINGTON (AP) — The chief human rights official of the State Department, Assistant Secretary Richard Schifter, announced his resignation on Tuesday amid reports that his departure was prompted by policy differences over Israel.

Mr. Schifter, 68, said in a statement that he was leaving because he believed that he had served long enough. He was appointed in October 1985.

According to a published report, Mr. Schifter, who is Jewish, was unhappy because he believed that the State Department's annual report on human rights, issued a month ago, was too harsh on Israel. The study said there had been "credible reports" of torture, abuse and mistreatment of Palestinians who had been detained by Israeli authorities in the occupied territories.

### Bonn Applauds Volga Autonomy

BONN (Reuters) — Germany on Tuesday welcomed President Boris N. Yeltsin's decree calling for restoration of a homeland on the Volga River for ethnic Germans. Mr. Yeltsin signed a decree on Monday that supports the gradual restoration of a German autonomous republic, comprising two parts of land.

"It is a great step forward," said Horst Waffenschmidt, a senior Interior Ministry official, "by which Russian-Germans can once again play their part in building up the Russian Republic." Up to 150,000 ethnic Germans have been emigrating to Germany each year. Most viewed lack of progress in restoring their autonomy as one of the main reasons for leaving the former Soviet Union.

Mr. Waffenschmidt, the senior aide responsible for resettlement affairs, said that as soon as specific projects were worked out, support from Germany for the homeland would be forthcoming, adding that 100 million marks (\$60 million) had been earmarked for this in the 1992 federal budget.

### Honecker Quits Clinic for Embassy

MOSCOW (AP) — Erich Honecker, the former East German leader, left a leading Moscow hospital on Tuesday and returned to his refuge in the Chilean Embassy, the medical director of the Botkin Clinic said.

Dr. Alexander Borodulin refused to comment on Mr. Honecker's health. He said Mr. Honecker, 79, received a medical report from his doctors before being discharged. Mr. Honecker entered the clinic Feb. 24. He reportedly has cancer, although the exact name of his illness is unconfirmed.

Mr. Honecker took refuge in the Chilean Embassy in December after Russia threatened to expel him. Mr. Honecker is wanted in Germany on manslaughter charges, accused of ordering border guards to shoot those trying to flee East Germany. Germany has been pressing for Mr. Honecker's return since March 1991.

### Libya Threatens Oil Fires if Invaded

ROME (AP) — Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has said that Libya would set its oil wells afire if the United States tried to seize them by force.

His remarks appeared linked to U.S. demands for the extradition of two Libyans charged with the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland, but there have been no reports of any U.S. plans to invade the country and seize the wells.

"By God they should know that if they want to seize Libyan oil by force, I will leave not a single drop of oil for them," Colonel Gaddafi said in a speech broadcast by Libyan television. "Libya will remain until the Day of Judgment and they can have the desert."

### Hungary Rejects Communist Trials

BUDAPEST (AP) — The Constitutional Court threw out a bill Tuesday that would have allowed prosecution of Hungarian Communists for crimes committed in four decades of party rule.

The bill, approved by parliament last fall, in an example of the angry debate raging across the formerly Communist countries of East Europe on accountability of former officials, many of whom are now elderly and infirm.

For example, Germany is seeking the extradition from Moscow of the former East German leader Erich Honecker, who was hospitalized with a serious illness after taking refuge in the Chilean Embassy in the Russian capital for months.

### For the Record

An antigovernment strike in Niger against mutinying soldiers paralyzed business and traffic across this West African nation for a second day on Tuesday. Leaders of a transitional government met with representatives of unions, the army and political parties on the crisis.

Riot policemen in Nairobi fired tear gas at hundreds of protesters, beat some with riot sticks and shot weapons into the air on Tuesday. Several dozen policemen moved to disperse the crowd, which had surrounded about two dozen women fasting at Uhuru Park in Nairobi over the detention of their sons.

## UN Team Destroys 75 Iraqi Rockets

Everything is going according to plan.

Mr. Desgranges' task marks the first time that UN specialists have destroyed Iraqi chemical rockets, which Iraq threatened to use but never fired during the 42-day Gulf War.

"We began our work by destroying five rockets," Mr. Desgranges said, "then 10 and so on."

"We want to verify at each stage that what we are doing is completely safe," he said.

And because Mr. Desgranges is satisfied with the process, he has decided to increase the number of rockets to be destroyed each day.

"From today," he said, "we will destroy a maximum of 40 per day and hope to finish our task within eight to nine days."

Mr. Desgranges started destroying the rockets on Feb. 25 at Khamsayyah, near the southern city of Nassariyah, which is 300 kilometers (180 miles) south of Baghdad.

The site designated by the UN for the destruction of Iraq's chemical, ballistic and nuclear weapons is Al Muthanna, 130 kilometers northwest of Baghdad, but Mr. Desgranges said it was too risky to move the leaking rockets there.

Mr. Desgranges and his team have established a security zone five kilometers wide to protect the environment and the people living nearby.

He said the team's success would make it easier for other UN specialists who will start destroying stocks of mustard gas and other chemical substances at Al Muthanna, where the UN plans to set up a plant to incinerate Iraq's poisonous gases.

Mr. Begin, 78, was still unconscious and in critical condition several hours after being taken to Ichilov Hospital in Tel Aviv, the director of the hospital, Dr. Dan Michaeli, said.

Dr. Michaeli said the former prime minister was paralyzed on his left side and was using a respirator. He said Mr. Begin's condition had deteriorated since he arrived at the hospital. The former prime minister has had several heart attacks.

Mr. Begin steered his right-wing Likud bloc to power in 1977 after the center-left Labor Party had governed the country for its first 29 years. He also signed a peace treaty with Egypt, the only Arab country to reach a settlement with Israel, for which he shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978 with Anwar Sadat.

The sentence was issued in the northern city of Tlemcen in a trial of 25 alleged members of Hezbollah, or Party of God, a hard-line Islamic group that has been outlawed by the government.

Three defendants were sentenced to die and three received prison terms after their conviction on various charges of weapons possession, abduction and murder, the radio said.

The other 19 defendants were acquitted, the radio said.

The death sentences were issued in connection with the July 1990 killing of a watchman at a mine during a theft of explosives, and an attack on a mosque in April 1991 in which three worshippers were wounded.

The last fundamentalists sentenced to death in Algeria were six members of a different clandestine group who were tried and convicted in absentia in 1987. The executions did not take place.

The government has not attempted to claim any formal link between Hezbollah and the main Muslim fundamentalist party, the Islamic Salvation Front.

The Interior Ministry, however, has gone to court with a formal request for dissolution of the Islamic Front. A ruling could come this week.

The Front was on the verge of winning control of parliament in Algeria's first multiparty legislative elections. But the military caucused Jan. 16 ruffians, former President Chadli Bendjedid, resigned and installed a new ruling council that has approved an extensive crackdown on the fundamentalists.

The Front, in a communiqué released Monday, said Algeria faced "an uncertain future" if the ban was imposed.

"The people will manage to find other means of fighting oppression and realizing their aspirations," the communiqué said. It was signed by Abderrazak Radjavi, an Islamic Front spokesman sought for three weeks by the police.



The Israeli delegates Yossi Gal, left, and Elyakim Rubenstein talking to reporters as they left the fourth round of Middle East peace talks in Washington. Israel is expected to reject a detailed new Palestinian proposal to achieve self-rule, scheduled to be presented to them soon.

## Baker Seeks to Reassure Israel on Aid

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said Tuesday that he was not seeking to cut Israel's existing foreign aid as a penalty for completion of settlement construction under way in the occupied territories.

Asked about a reported aid cut proposal after a Capitol Hill appearance, Mr. Baker alluded to testimony he gave to Congress last week stating that any penalty should come not out of Israel's U.S. cash aid, but from the \$10 billion in loan guarantees Israel is seeking.

"Read my testimony," Mr. Baker said. "Nothing has changed."

A proposed cut in U.S. aid to Israel was mentioned Monday by Patrick D. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont and chairman of the Senate Appropriations foreign aid subcommittee, among proposed conditions on the loan guarantees.

Congressional and administration officials with direct knowledge confirmed that Mr. Baker had stated such a position. When reporters asked Mr. Baker on Tuesday whether Mr. Leahy had been mistaken, he did not answer directly.

Told of the denial, one congressional supporter of Israel responded, "Good."

Maybe, he said, it meant that Mr. Baker was dropping the idea of an aid cut.

Israel receives an annual U.S. aid package of \$3 billion, larger than any other country. In Jerusalem, Yitzhak Rabin said Tuesday

that if he won Israel's June election he would speed up Middle East peace talks by letting the Palestinians break from Jordan and represent themselves.

Mr. Rabin, whose tough views on security and defense helped win him the leadership of the opposition Labor Party last month, also repeated his vow to freeze most Jewish settlements of occupied Arab land and grant Palestinians autonomy.

"I would not mind to have a separate Palestinian delegation," Mr. Rabin said. "Only the Palestinians can speak in their name."

Palestinians reluctantly resumed peace talks with Israel in Washington this week under the umbrella of a Jordanian delegation.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's hard-line government insisted that it would not deal with a separate Palestinian team, fearing that this would give the Palestinians recognition as a nation. Syria and Lebanon are also at the talks.

"I'll focus the negotiations with the Palestinian delegation on the creation of autonomy," Mr. Rabin said. A Labor government would concentrate on talks first with the Palestinians, then Jordan and finally Syria and Lebanon, he said.

The U.S.-brokered talks, which began in Madrid in October, match Israel in parallel discussions with its Arab neighbors.

"I believe at this stage the most important thing is to start to make peace," Mr. Rabin said.

"Everybody is 'processing' the peace — nobody is making it."

Mr. Rabin was careful to rule out an independent Palestinian state. He is courting a crucial 5 percent of the electorate that could swing to Mr. Shamir if Labor appeared too dovish. But he outlined plans to give the 1.75 million Palestinians of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip interim autonomy within one year, leading to a permanent solution within five years.

He sidestepped questions on U.S. press reports that Washington had given up on obtaining a settlement freeze from Mr. Shamir and hence favored the Labor Party.

"We believe that there is a possibility now to achieve an agreement with the Palestinians in the territories about the establishment of autonomy as an interim arrangement for a transitional period of five years," Mr. Rabin said.

He accused Mr. Shamir of endangering peace by adding to the 100,000 Jews already settled in the territories. Mr. Rabin called the settlements political, a waste of money and unnecessary to Israeli security.

He said he would halt all settlements except those along the lines of confrontation in the Jordan River Valley and the Golan Heights.

"I am not doing anything to satisfy any ambition in the United States," he said. "I am doing what I consider to be important to Israel, to its security, to the possibility to achieve peace, to bring in additional half a million or million Jews from what used to be the Soviet Union."

Mr. Begin, 78, was still unconscious and in critical condition several hours after being taken to Ichilov Hospital in Tel Aviv, the director of the hospital, Dr. Dan Michaeli, said.

Dr. Michaeli said the former prime minister was paralyzed on his left side and was using a respirator. He said Mr. Begin's condition had deteriorated since he arrived at the hospital. The former prime minister has had several heart attacks.

Mr. Begin steered his right-wing Likud bloc to power in 1977 after the center-left Labor Party had governed the country for its first 29 years. He also signed a peace treaty with Egypt, the only Arab country to reach a settlement with Israel, for which he shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978 with Anwar Sadat.

## Begin, Ex-Leader Of Israel, Suffers A Heart Attack

The Associated Press

JERUSALEM — Menachem Begin, the former prime minister, suffered a heart attack on Tuesday and was rushed unconscious to a hospital.

Mr. Begin, 78, was still unconscious and in critical condition several hours after being taken to Ichilov Hospital in Tel Aviv, the director of the hospital, Dr. Dan Michaeli, said.

Dr. Michaeli said the former prime minister was paralyzed on his left side and was using a respirator. He said Mr. Begin's condition had deteriorated since he arrived at the hospital. The former prime minister has had several heart attacks.

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## Algeria Sentences 3 To Death

The Associated Press

ALGIERS — Three members of a clandestine Muslim faction were sentenced to death Tuesday for complicity in armed attacks, the state radio said.

They were the first fundamentalists condemned to death in Algeria since 1987.

The sentence was issued in the northern city of Tlemcen in a trial of 25 alleged members of Hezbollah, or Party of God, a hard-line Islamic group that has been outlawed by the government.

Three defendants were sentenced to die and three received prison terms after their conviction on various charges of weapons possession, abduction and murder, the radio said.

The other 19 defendants were acquitted, the radio said.

The death sentences were issued in connection with the July 1990 killing of a watchman at a mine during a theft of explosives, and an attack on a mosque in April 1991 in which three worshippers were wounded.

The last fundamentalists sentenced to death in Algeria were six members of a different clandestine group who were tried and convicted in absentia in 1987. The executions did not take place.

The government has not attempted to claim any formal link between Hezbollah and the main Muslim fundamentalist party, the Islamic Salvation Front.

The Interior Ministry, however, has gone to court with a formal request for dissolution of the Islamic Front. A ruling could come this week.

The Front was on the verge of winning control of parliament in Algeria's first multiparty legislative elections. But the military caucused Jan. 16 ruffians, former President Chadli Bendjedid, resigned and installed a new ruling council that has approved an extensive crackdown on the fundamentalists.

The Front, in a communiqué released Monday, said Algeria faced "an uncertain future" if the ban was imposed.

"The people will manage to find other means of fighting oppression and realizing their aspirations," the communiqué said. It was signed by Abderrazak Radjavi, an Islamic Front spokesman sought for three weeks by the police.

## Plea From Africa: End Trade Ban on Elephants

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KYOTO, Japan — Five African countries pushed Tuesday for lifting the international trade ban on elephants so that poverty-stricken economies could be aided through the sale of ivory and other products.

The eighth meeting of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora quickly turned into a heated debate on moves by Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe to ease protection of the elephant.

According to a report issued by a panel of experts, a key question is "whether the opening of a limited legal trade in ivory would increase the volume of illegal traffic

by providing ways to launder illegally obtained ivory."

"If international commercial ivory trade were to be permitted," the panel stressed, "no matter how well designed the controls are or how effective their enforcement may be in the elephant range states, these efforts would be of little use if the controls and enforcement were not good enough in the importing countries."

In a separate move hearkening to Japan's fishing industry, the group's secretary recommended that member nations reject a Swedish proposal for a ban on fishing for West Atlantic bluefish tuna.

Neither the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas nor individual scientists believe that the popu-

lation is in danger of extinction, the secretary said.

Japan is the world's biggest consumer of bluefin tuna, accounting for about 40 percent of the global market. Raw tuna is used in sushi, a popular Japanese delicacy.

Arguing in behalf of allowing trade in African elephants, Pieter Mulder, head of the South African delegation, said, "The elephant population in South Africa is now increasing."

Statistics place the number of elephants in the five countries at 150,000, with the largest herds, numbering 77,000, in Zimbabwe.

More than 1,000 representatives from 112 nations are attending the sessions

through March 13 to update the treaty governing trade in endangered wildlife and flora.

"Our proposal is to export ivory directly from Kruger National Park to the manufacturer, so there is no possibility of illegal ivory entering the system through a middleman," Mr. Mulder said.

Sources said that there was virtually no chance delegates would agree to ease the ban on ivory. But in a compromise proposal, trade in hides, meat and other products would be allowed, they said.

Conservationists and wildlife groups fear that any relaxation would strengthen the illegal market for ivory and increase poaching, leading to the annihilation of the elephant.

They argue that not enough alternatives are available.

"We get calls saying, 'Why don't you stop making CFC's right now?'" said Nick Sommers, a spokesman for Akzo, the Dutch chemical company. "We say we will, but we have a certain responsibility to deliver until society makes the switch-over. Take heavy-duty refrigerators in meat and other markets: 40 percent of the world's food would spoil if it was not refrigerated."

Industrialists seem divided whether the earlier deadlines are realistic. Some note that CFCs have already been practically phased out from use in aerosols.

"Most companies have not finished toxicity and safety testing of the replacement products," Mr. Sommers said. "We are almost putting the cart before the horse."

One senior official in Paris recalled that five years ago, when the need for bans was first discussed, chemical makers balked and ar-

## The Weather

Forecast for Thursday through Saturday



North America Europe Asia

Rain will fall heavily at times into Friday in the Southern states, including strong thunderstorms. Rain will spread into the Northeast Friday as the Great Lakes region remains damp. Rain will be partly sunny and breezy, with a few showers or light drizzle in California Thursday.

The weather will be springlike across most of the West Coast Thursday through Saturday. Clouds will mix with sunbursts in the Northeast Friday as the Great Lakes region remains damp. Rain will be partly sunny and breezy, with a few showers or light drizzle in California Thursday.

Rain will soak much of Japan Friday. Rain will fall in the north of Tokyo. Friday, rain will fall in the north of Tokyo. Friday, rain will fall in the north of Tokyo.

Europe Asia

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## OZONE: EC Moves to Advance a Chemical Ban to 1995 Amid Mounting Signs of Peril

(Continued from page 1)

production by 1995. The United States manufactures close to 25 percent. The remainder is made in other industrial countries, many of which have signed a treaty to ban the chemicals by 2000, and in developing nations, including China, India and former Soviet republics.

But European officials say that if countries elsewhere continue to use the chemicals, the products will be barred from the Community.

Scientists, both European and American, have been reluctant to predict whether the ozone depletion around the North Pole will be as dramatic as that found over the last five years around Antarctica.

French and British researchers who worked in a team based in Kiruna, Sweden, say that new factors have recently appeared that may affect the less stable conditions around the North Pole.

An anticyclone last month may alleviate the situation by bringing in extra ozone from other regions. But some scientists say that harmful chemical reactions could be speeded up by the huge clouds of sulfuric acid droplets left in the stratosphere after volcanic eruptions last year in the Philippines.

American and European researchers all agreed, however, that they had found exceptionally high levels of chlorine monoxide, which destroys ozone, and that this could lead to significant ozone loss as early as this spring. They said the chemicals had long life spans so

that even if damage did not appear immediately, all the ingredients were there for this to happen in the next few years.

The European Community is expected to approve more funds for the 250 scientists working from various northern air bases, including Siberia for the first time.

The European group is working with United States teams led by scientists of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, who have the use of a new American satellite and special research aircraft.

Since the new threats to the Earth's support system were disclosed, European environmentalists have increased their pressure on industrial giants like Imperial Chemical Industries, Hoechst, Akzo and Dupont, demanding that they immediately halt their production of chlorofluorocarbons.

The companies say they have been scaling down output rapidly,

but they argue that not enough alternatives are available.

"We get calls saying, 'Why don't you stop making CFC's right now?'" said Nick Sommers, a spokesman for Akzo, the Dutch chemical company. "We say we will, but we have a certain responsibility to deliver until society makes the switch-over. Take heavy-duty refrigerators in meat and other markets: 40 percent of the world's food would spoil if it was not refrigerated."

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"Most companies have not finished toxicity and safety testing of the replacement products," Mr. Sommers said. "We are almost putting the cart before the horse."

One senior official in Paris recalled that five years ago, when the need for bans was first discussed, chemical makers balked and ar-

gued that substitutes were not available and that any change would cost billions and would put companies out of business.

"That attitude has changed dramatically," the official said. "And experience has shown that it's better for governments to crank up the pressure. Then companies will find a way to invent new products or solve problems. Some always do."

European countries say they are prepared to offer



# Habash Affair Leads U.S. Police Chiefs to Urge Congress to Stop Funding Interpol

By Barry James  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS—U.S. police chiefs have assailed the international police organization Interpol, saying it bungled the case of the Palestinian terrorist leader Georges Habash, but Interpol's president accused the Americans on Tuesday of "total ignorance."

The National Association of Chiefs of Police, representing 11,000 of the 14,000 officers of command rank in the United States, urged Congress to cut off funds to Interpol.

The association's executive director, Gerald Aronberg, said Interpol was "a liability to effective law enforcement and a threat to the safety and privacy of citizens around the world."

Mr. Aronberg said in a letter submitted to the House subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights that Interpol knew that Mr. Habash was coming to Paris on Jan. 29 for medical treatment, yet withheld the information from the proper police authorities.

Mr. Habash is head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, believed responsible for a string of airline hijackings and other terrorist actions.

"This event points out that Interpol, as it is currently organized, is not a reliable law enforcement network," Mr. Aronberg wrote. "It can be too easily used by its officials to advance their own hidden political and/or financial agendas to the detriment of law enforcement goals and the safety of citizens."

Interpol headquarters in Lyon refused to discuss the case, or even to say how much it receives as a budget—believed to be about 25 million Swiss francs (\$16.6 million)—and what proportion the United States pays. The U.S. share in 1990 was about \$5.75 million, not counting the cost of assigning officers to work with Interpol and providing office space and equipment in the United States.

A spokesman said the organization had no responsibility to inform the public.

But the organization's president, Ivan Bakbot, appeared to contradict the spokesman when he accused the U.S. police chiefs of "total ignorance" about Interpol's workings.

"Interpol files contain only information of a

criminal nature sent by member states," said Mr. Bakbot, who is attached to the office of the French prime minister and is a former director general of the national police.

"None of the 158-member countries, including the United States, had sent such documents concerning Habash."

"Such statements, coming from police officers, demonstrate deep ignorance of the conditions of Habash's arrival in France, his brief stay and his departure. They also demonstrate total ignorance of the role of Interpol, which is not an intelligence-gathering body, but a judicial organization of cooperation between criminal police forces."

An Interpol official suggested privately that

the association of police chiefs was made up of country sheriffs who did not understand international realities.

A spokesman for the organization, Paul Abbott, strongly denied this, saying the association comprises many officers in big cities who are up against international crime every day and have never found much use for Interpol.

The association last year conducted a poll of police chiefs in which 95 percent replied that Interpol had never been of any use.

In charges made in November and repeated this week, Mr. Aronberg said Interpol placed the lives of American policemen directly at risk because of "severe problems of internal corrup-

tion particularly in the area of drug trafficking."

Interpol honored Mr. Noriega before his arrest for his help in combatting drug trafficking.

Mr. Aronberg criticized what he said was Interpol's "complete lack of accountability." Mr. Abbott said the association had on several occasions written to the organization and to its National Central Bureau in the United States seeking answers to its misgivings. But either these letters had been ignored, or the responses were unsatisfactory.

## AMERICAN TOPICS

### Charismatic Trend Drawing Catholics

The charismatic movement is gaining among American Roman Catholics. The New York Times reports. The National Service Committee for the Charismatic Renewal, based near Washington, estimates that about 10 million of the 55 million Catholics in the United States have participated in charismatic prayer services or retreats.

The movement is "part pep rally, part big tent revival," The Times says. It often more participation to members of the congregation than traditional Catholicism and includes healing, witnessing and glossolalia, or speaking in tongues. It appeals especially to Hispanic Catholics, who say they find it warmer, more inviting and intimate than the traditional Mass. It also counters the evangelical fervor of Protestant groups that seek Hispanic converts.

"It's not for everyone," said Joseph G. Zwilling, a spokesman for the archdiocese of New York. But ever since Pope John Paul II met with leaders of the charismatic movement from around the world in 1981, in a gesture widely seen as acceptance of the movement, charismatic and traditional Catholicism have managed to co-exist.

### Short Takes

Who's the phone call for? It's possible to talk with a new service offered by a growing number of telephone companies. The subscriber's single line is electronically split into three lines, each



MAGIC LAUGHTER — Earvin (Magic) Johnson and Senator Edward M. Kennedy laughing as Larry Bird, the Boston Celtics player and longtime friend and rival of Mr. Johnson, spoke at an event on AIDS awareness and prevention at a Boston high school.

with a different number and a characteristic ring. For example, one number, with a short and a long ring, can be given to friends and relatives; a second number, with a long and a short ring, to business associates, and a third number, with three short rings, to the friends of one's children.

A woman taking a steam bath next to a volcanic steam vent in Hawaii was killed when she slipped in mud and fell 20 feet (6 meters) down the gap into the scalding heat. A male companion managed to break his fall after dropping 2 1/2 feet and clambered onto a safety. The body of Elizabeth Ann Matsch, 24, of Boulder,

Colorado, was brought to the surface.

Are electronic video games crowding the traditional pinball machine out of the market? Not at all, says a spokesman for WMS Industries, the biggest U.S. manufacturer of both pinball and video games under the brand names of Williams and Bally. He said sales of pinball machines, with the bouncing silver ball and the hazardous tilt, have increased more than 20 percent in the past two years. Video games tend to appeal to players from nine to 16 years old, the spokesman said, while pinball wizards tend to be older teenagers and adults.

### Show Was Not Magic, A Lawsuit Contends

A Florida lawyer named Mark Bogen is suing a magician, one David Copperfield, for more than \$1 million, contending that the performer subjected his audience to the aggravation of producing a television program rather than giving them the uninterrupted stage show for which they had paid \$20 to \$27 a ticket.

The magician said, "You can never please everybody." He added, "Most people love the idea of being part of a television show." Mr. Bogen's suit said that to

facilitate television production, the performance, in Fort Lauderdale, was continually stopped and started; many people were moved from their assigned seats; Mr. Copperfield more than once performed the same magic tricks, and he and his assistants continually asked the audience to applaud, laugh, stand up or sit down.

Mr. Copperfield said that "ninety-nine percent or more" of the audience "loved the show." "Unfortunately," he said, "we live in a society where we have a right to sue over everyone and everything."

Arthur Higbee

## Tsongas Makes Name for Self In Any and All Pronunciations

By Maureen Dowd  
New York Times Service

BALTIMORE — Never mind character flaws. Is America ready for a president with a peculiar consonant cluster?

When Paul E. Tsongas was a little boy, he hated it when other kids made fun of his name, and he dreamed that, someday, his consonants would be reversed.

"I thought when I got old enough, I'd change my name to Stone and have a really American name," he said. He never told his parents. "I would have been thrown out of my home."

He settled for making the "t" silent, and pronouncing his name Sahn-gas, which he thought would be simpler than the Greek pronunciation used by his grandfather and father.

Although his aides say the proper Greek pronunciation is Chungus, he says it is simply the precise use of both consonants. "Like isetse fly," he said, suddenly sounding like a tsanake in a boiling tea kettle.

Until now, the main apotheosis of silent consonances has been Pamith of P. G. Wodehouse's comic novel "Leave It to Pamith."

Smith changed his name to be different, but then people kept mistaking his name for Pamith, and he would have to explain "the p is silent, as in phobia."

The comedians have been enjoying the notion of another Greek politician with a funny name for months. As Johnny Carson put it, "What is his campaign slogan going to be: 'Paul Tsongas, rhymes with Fungus?'"

And Dave Barry alerted readers of his column that Paul E. Tsongas could be rearranged to spell "Gaseous Plant" or "A Tulsa Sponge."

But they probably cannot say anything that Mr. Tsongas has not already heard as he travels the country, often in regions where ethnic names are sparse. From Tango to Sinus to Zouker to Sixpence, he has heard it all. An opponent in his 1976 House race dubbed him "Tax-on-gas."

When Mr. Tsongas calls room service, and a polite employee checks the computer to greet him with his name, he says he is greeted with "Good morning, Mr. —gulp."

One of the Democrat's Southern supporters, Charles Poag, an Atlanta legislator, pronounced the candidate's name Tonsil, Tang, and Tong in a single interview last week. And on Monday, the candidate introduced reporters to a 13-year-old named Jenny Apel, an eighth grader at St. Mathias School in Lan-

ham, Maryland, who was planning to play Mr. Tsongas in a mock debate at her school.

"I am going to be the representative for Paul Tsongas," she said, beaming proudly.

Even old acquaintances get it wrong. Mr. Tsongas noted that his former neighbor in Washington, Jim Lehrer, pronounced his name Zongas all through a PBS debate. But he does not bother to correct anyone.

"There are a lot of things in life to worry about, but that's not one of them," he said Monday in College Park, Maryland, as he rode to the University of Maryland pool to swim his laps. "I not only don't enunciate my name, I don't enunciate most of the English language."

His campaign adviser, Ed Jesser, complains that it is hard to attract a lot of support because people who want more information about the campaign "keep looking us up under 's' or 'z'."

Mr. Tsongas, however, credits his double consonant with getting him elected to both the House and the Senate.

His first campaign commercial when he ran for Congress in 1974 was a radio advertisement, which asked Massachusetts citizens, "How do you spell 'Tsongas'?" and featured unscripted comments like "T-O-G, no, no, no," "T-N-G, no, no, no!" and "Oh, boy!"

In the 1978 race for the Senate, he did the commercial again on television, ending with a young boy with the scrunched face of deep thought who declared the correct pronunciation to be "Tickets!" When people called out "Hey, Tickets!" at parades and rallies, Mr. Tsongas knew the commercial had worked.

He said he would like to keep up the tradition and do a similar commercial for the presidential race.

The signs popping up at campaign stops are already picking up on the silent "t" theme: "Tsouthern for Tsongas," "TsSeattle for Tsongas" and "Tsitzens for Tsongas."

Some press accounts have mentioned "The Tsongas Tsunami" and the candidate got one T-shirt with the legend "Tsupperman."

Last month, when Mr. Tsongas made his first trip to Georgia, the front page of The Atlanta Journal featured a quote from Lieutenant Governor Pierre Howard: "Tsongas is not Greek for Bubba."

Of course, the name Tsongas is simple compared with the candidate's middle name, taken from his father, Efthimios.

"It's a better middle name than Herbert Walker," said Mr. Jesser.

## POLITICS: Primaries Find the 2 Parties Nearing Nervous Breakdowns

(Continued from page 1) on racial issues, because he knows Mr. Buchanan will always be able to outflank him on the right and since he may need those issues himself.

Mr. Bush, who has often been underestimated, may yet short-circuit Mr. Buchanan's challenge and have plenty of time to get his campaign together for the fall. But Mr. Buchanan's ability to force the Bush forces to resort to sharp attack advertising suggests just how fragile the Bush coalition may be. The can-do spirit embodied by Mr. Bush's boldness in prosecuting the Gulf War now seems but a distant memory.

The good news for the Republicans is the phenomenally uncertain

Democratic contest — and the Democrats' own confusion in offering a coherent alternative to Mr. Bush.

At the very point when Democrats in Congress felt they had come up with a powerful issue against Mr. Bush — tax fairness and tax cuts for the middle class — along came Paul E. Tsongas, former U.S. senator from Massachusetts, to ridicule the very heart of the Democratic plan.

Indeed, Mr. Tsongas's very strategy, to move right on economics while holding to a stoutly liberal line on social issues, contradicts the formula many other Democrats saw as essential to victory.

Mr. Tsongas's central theme, that the Democrats have been in-

sufficiently pro-business, infuriates pro-labor liberals like Mr. Faux, who see Mr. Tsongas's mixture of social liberalism and economic conservatism as little different from the philosophies of Jimmy Carter and Michael S. Dukakis. The mixture, says Mr. Faux, is unappealing to disaffected, lower-middle-class "Reagan Democrats" who now seem to be giving Mr. Buchanan a hearing.

Governor Bill Clinton's appeal — populism on economics mixed with a moderation on social issues — is the inverse of the Tsongas approach. But the Arkansas message has been badly muffled by his need to defend himself against news reports about his draft record and his personal life.

Mr. Clinton had hoped that he would be the challenger of orthodoxes. His advertisements for the Tuesday primaries declared him "the only candidate challenging the failed policies of both parties."

Instead, Mr. Tsongas surged forward as the candidate embodying "the new." To his supporters, he embodies both the antithesis of the Reagan Era — unskillful and serious — and the alternative to an older style of liberalism.

Among the Democrats, Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska, has been the most explicit in using the end of the Cold War as a central campaign theme.

But Senator Kerrey's candidacy has made little headway. Nor is the campaign of Senator Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, a factor, Mr. Faux argues, in tilting the Democratic argument to the right.

■ Americans Frustrated  
Americans enter the busiest stretch of the primary season in a frustrated mood, dissatisfied with Mr. Bush but overwhelmingly con-

vinced that none of the candidates for president really understand their lives. The New York Times reported from Atlanta.

According to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll, Mr. Bush's approval rating stands at 40 percent, a new low for him.

There are many signs of public anxiety over the economy and the president's response to it. Still, the Democratic alternatives to Mr. Bush remain murky and ill-defined for most Americans, according to the telephone survey of 1,673 adults, conducted Wednesday through Sunday.

Mr. Clinton, with the support of 28 percent of the likely Democratic voters, and Mr. Tsongas, with the backing of 19 percent, were at the front of the pack in the struggle for the nomination.

About 52 percent of the Democrats said they were not satisfied with the candidates and wished someone else would enter the race.

Americans give an unnamed, idealized Democratic president the edge over Mr. Bush in a number of areas.

But between the idea of a Democratic president and the reality of the candidates falls a considerable shadow. A majority of Americans said they still did not have an opinion about most Democratic candidates.

When offered a head-to-head choice, Mr. Bush beats Mr. Clinton by 50 percent to 40 percent, Mr. Tsongas by 49 percent to 39 percent, and Senator Kerrey by 32 percent to 35 percent.

## Made in U.S.A.: Senator Hollings Lists Atom Bomb

The Associated Press

HARTSVILLE, South Carolina — Senator Ernest F. Hollings responded to a Japanese official's recent remarks that American workers were lazy and illiterate with a joke about which country made the atomic bomb.

While praising the productivity of American workers as he toured the Roller Bearing Company of America plant on Monday, Mr. Hollings responded to Japanese criticism by telling workers: "You should draw a mushroom cloud and put underneath it, 'Made in America by lazy and illiterate Americans and tested in Japan.'"

An aide to the South Carolina Democrat said later that the senator's comment was a joke and an "appropriate metaphor" in view of the U.S.-Japan trade war.

"The senator was simply making a joke," the aide, Andy Brack, said. "He's a great admirer of the Japanese work ethic, and he said the way that they're doing business over there is smart."

The comment was "an appropriate metaphor for the fellow who said American workers were lazy and illiterate," Mr. Brack said.

The comment by Mr. Hollings drew applause from the Roller Bearing workers.

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## China Applauds Bush's Veto of Trade Bill

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — China's foreign trade ministry praised President George Bush on Tuesday for vetoing a bill that would have attached conditions to renewal of favorable trade status for Beijing.

"President Bush's sensible attitude of giving most-favored-nation status to China with no conditions is appreciated," said a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade.

"We believe it was a very wise decision which will be of great help to the future development of Sino-U.S. relations," he added.

Last week, the Senate voted, 59 to 39, to require China to improve its human-rights policies and curb its exports of nuclear and missile technology in order to qualify for renewal of its most-favored-nation trade benefits.

But the vote was short of the

two-thirds of the 100-member Senate needed to override a presidential veto. Mr. Bush vetoed the bill on Monday, saying he shared its goals but not the method for achieving them.

He said that giving Chinese leaders an ultimatum would weaken Beijing's ties with the West and

result in further repression. Mr. Bush stuck with his policy of patience with China's hard-line leaders, saying the United States should work for change in China through dialogue and diplomacy.

The House approved the bill by a 409-to-21 vote in November.

(AP, Reuters, LAT)

## BUSH: He Regrets Raising Taxes

(Continued from page 1)

Bush said. "And I had to do it, and I regret it and I regret it."

Tuesday, in remarks on the South Lawn of the White House before going on to Illinois to address the National Association of Evangelicals, Mr. Bush put his admission in the context of asserting that he would make no more compromises with Congress, considering what the 1990 pact produced.

"I thought that one compromise," he said, "would result in no more tax increases. I thought it would result in total control of domestic spending, and now we see Congress talking about raising taxes again."

That, he said, was why the 1990 agreement was "a mistake."

Mr. Bush was asked why he had

had a change of heart now, heading into a dozen primaries and with two dissatisfying primary results — New Hampshire and South Dakota — behind him. The president avoided the question, but White House officials said he had been considering the statements for several weeks and that he had been urged on by campaign advisers, including both the campaign chairman, Robert Teeter, and, to some extent, his eldest son, George W. Bush, who has long served as a senior political adviser to his father.

In Illinois, Mr. Bush avoided the tax issue, concentrating on social issues and reminding the audience that he has six times vetoed legislation that would have permitted federal funding of abortions. New legislation in Congress to prevent states from limiting abortion "will not become law as long as I am president," he said.

## 700 Are Trapped After Explosion At Turkish Mine

Reuters

ANKARA — Up to 700 miners were feared trapped after an explosion ripped through a Turkish coal mine, officials said on Tuesday.

At least three miners were known to have been killed and 38 injured in the blast, in northwest Turkey.

State Minister Omer Barutcu told the Anatolian news agency that 600 to 700 miners were believed working on three levels when a methane gas blast ripped through the Incirharmani mine. The agency said the blast had cut communication lines and smashed ventilation shafts there and at a second mine, Ihsaniye.

Incirharmani is one of several state-run pits in the Black Sea coal area of Zonguldak, about 265 kilometers (165 miles) northwest of Ankara. Miners have protested in the past about inadequate safety measures and outdated equipment.

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Tibet Won't Go Away

Denied basic freedoms at home, exiled Tibetans have now turned to the United Nations Human Rights Commission for support against China's repression.

massacled position — there is much wrong with it — but moving away from it would require a full, deliberate review.

Incentive for Saddam

Saddam Hussein now provokes a new showdown with the United Nations. He refuses to cooperate in destroying Scud missile plants and other weapons facilities covered by the Gulf War cease-fire resolution.

missiles, intrusive inspections, compensation terms for victims of Iraqi aggression.

East Timor, Continued

Last fall Indonesia was trying to work out a first visit to East Timor by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation so that, it hoped, Portugal would finally renounce itself to loss of its South Pacific backwater.

strongly felt than what has moved dozens of other territories to nationhood. Yet Indonesia holds its possession fast and is wary of a precedent of unraveling in its vast archipelago.

Asian-American Facts

Asian-Americans suffer from two equally unfair stereotypes. They are considered a "model minority," industrious and resourceful.

American generally. The commission cites the murder in 1982 of a Chinese-American by two white automobile workers in Detroit.

Correction

The New York Times says: A New York Times editorial on this page yesterday, "Women Are the Key," erred in asserting that more girls than boys are born.

Let's Get Off the Road to Nuclear War in South Asia

By Selig S. Harrison

WASHINGTON — Neither India nor Pakistan wants another war, but the danger of a fourth South Asian conflict is growing as the four-year-old insurgency in Kashmir steadily intensifies.

of the Kashmir issue, including the recent clashes between Kashmiris and Pakistani troops, lies in the split between Kashmiri Islamic fundamentalist groups favoring accession to Pakistan and the more popular Liberation Front, which represents the long-standing aspiration of Kashmir Valley Muslims for autonomy within India and is now advocating full independence.

The only realistic way left for India is to accept meaningful autonomy for Kashmir as part of a broader decentralization.

consistently opposed the idea of an independent Kashmir, calling for a United Nations plebiscite that would give Kashmiris a choice limited to joining India or Pakistan.

is a recent implant, claiming dedicated but limited support. Long before their current struggle against integration with Hindu-majority India, the Kashmir Valley Muslims resisted incorporation by Muslim rulers, notably the Mogul Emperor Akbar in 1586 and Ahmad Shah of Afghanistan two centuries later.

India granted nominal autonomy to its sector of Kashmir in 1950 under a special constitutional provision, but promptly nullified that provision in practice.

Relations between New Delhi and Kashmir are complicated by the fact that the state is an artificial conglomeration inherited from the British period. The Muslim-majority valley is lumped together with two other areas, Hindu-majority Jammu and Buddhist-majority Ladakh, in a combined entity known as Jammu and Kashmir.

As the first step toward a solution of the Kashmir dispute, India would have to split the state, integrating most of Jammu and Ladakh with the Indian Union while giving special status to a new state in which the valley would be united with the sizable Muslim pockets in Jammu and Ladakh.

Both New Delhi and Islamabad would surrender authority to these new entities in all spheres except for defense, foreign affairs, communications and currency — including the right to conduct foreign aid and foreign trade dealings independently.

duce their forces in specified circumstances. Islamabad would terminate its support for insurgents in the valley. The present Kashmir cease-fire line would become an international border.

Such a settlement, accompanied by large-scale economic inputs, would be acceptable to many Liberation Front leaders and to a growing number of war-weary Kashmiris who see no light at the end of the tunnel. At present, however, India is pursuing a self-defeating policy of seeking to crush the insurgency militarily before pursuing a political solution.

New Delhi fears that giving special autonomy to the valley would set a precedent for similar demands by other states. Moreover, argue Hindu nationalist leaders, since such a state would have a Muslim majority, it would end up seeking independence or accession to Pakistan.

Given its past mistakes, the only realistic way left for India to escape from its quagmire is to accept meaningful autonomy for Kashmir as part of a broader decentralization of the Indian federal system.

Pakistan's success in tweaking the Indian tiger's tail in Kashmir has provided a deep source of psychic satisfaction, a sense of "getting even" for Indian support of the 1971 Bangladesh secession. Islamabad is gambling that fear of a nuclear response will deter India from a military strike on the Rajasthan-Sind border comparable to what it did on the Punjab border in 1965 in retaliation for Pakistan's provocation in Kashmir then.

The writer, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is a former South Asia bureau chief of The Washington Post, to which he contributed this column.

Urgent Task for de Klerk: Shore Up His Power Base

By Allister Sparks

JOHANNESBURG — Can any one ride the tiger of reform on this scale and survive? The similarities between Frederik W. de Klerk and Mikhail Gorbachev are disturbing.

Once again we see a national leader being acclaimed abroad while his authority erodes at home; a figure seemingly caught up in a whirlpool of forces that he himself has unleashed, his personal popularity ratings swinging from a high point of initial euphoria to dangerously low levels of confusion and disillusionment.

The South African economy is in its deepest recession since the Great Depression. Unemployment has risen to 43 percent of the economically active population. A devastating drought is destroying crops — while the scrapping of the pass laws and other apartheid restrictions is bringing black people into the cities in unmanageable numbers, resulting in the overnight growth of massive squatter communities and a soaring crime rate.

The cumulative effect was a 20 percent swing against President de Klerk at a whites-only by-election in the Transvaal town of Potchefstroom last month. He has sought to halt the swing by calling a white referendum for March 17. Will he survive it? The chances are yes, though narrowly.

Like Mr. Gorbachev, he is a smart political tactician, and the key to his play is a pledge to resign if he loses. This shifts the focus away from general white anxiety about where he is leading the country to a stark contemplation of where the leader of the white extremists, Andries Treurnicht, would lead if he is not voted out.

Mr. de Klerk can paint a doomsday scenario of the consequences of a Treurnicht attempt to turn the clock back to apartheid — worse-than-ever

sanctions, violence and general hardship as inflicted blacks and an outraged world rise up against a white minority more isolated than ever.

But winning the referendum will not end Mr. de Klerk's problems. It may split Mr. Treurnicht's Conservative Party, now the main opposition in the white-dominated Parliament. The referendum will almost certainly be the last whites-only poll in South Africa, which means that it is the Conservative Party's last opportunity to win and stop the reform process by constitutional means.

With that gone, the party's relatively moderate wing of constitutionalists, who do not want to resort to insurrectionary violence, will argue for presenting the party's case for racial partition to the national constitutional convention, which is now boycotting. The hawks, on the other hand, who are already itching to go to war, will feel that there is no longer any point in holding off. They are likely to link up with the neo-Nazi Afrikaaner Resistance Movement and other semi-militaristic groups. The likelihood of insurrectionary violence from the far right will increase.

Mr. de Klerk's problem then will be whether he can rely on his security forces to put it down. Recent analyses suggest that 80 to 95 percent of the national police force and 70 to 80 percent of the army are sympathetic to the Conservative Party, the Resistance Movement and other far-right groups. Prospects of a Soviet-style coup attempt aside, this raises questions about how firmly the security forces would deal with white insurrectionary violence.

Mr. de Klerk needs to do two things to survive. First, he must gain firmer control over the security forces. He has been strangely sanguine about this, blandly ignoring the mounting evidence that dissenting elements in the police are stirring trou-



ble in the black townships to try to destabilize the reform process.

Second, he must use the referendum campaign to barnstorm the country and explain himself more clearly to the white community.

He must explain why he, a politician with a right-wing image himself who built his career preaching the apartheid cause, filling his people's heads with nightmare fears of what the alternative would mean to them, suddenly in 1989 and began leading them toward that alternative.

The more I travel about South Africa and the more I listen to radio phone-in shows, the more appalled I am at the scale of political confusion that exists. White South Africans have no tradition of thinking for themselves. This is a society that has followed leaders blindly and swallowed ideologies unquestioningly. Now suddenly these people have been abandoned by a president who

has veered sharply off course without adequate explanation, leaving them milling about like lost sheep.

Reform and the negotiations are going well in South Africa — better than anyone dared hope. After a shaky start, the African National Congress has got its act together rea-

sonably well, and there is an encouraging degree of convergence between it and the government on the basic principles of a post-apartheid constitution. Mr. de Klerk's failure to secure his own power base threatens to wreck everything.

The Washington Post.

Economic Stability Is Crucial

By Robert H. Phinny

PALM SPRINGS, California — Listening to Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk, one gets the sense that negotiations toward a new South African Constitution are moving swiftly. But a growing number of South Africans of all races disagree with their leaders on the methods for reaching a new constitution.

Despite a peace accord between Mr. Mandela's African National Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party, violence has continued.

The ANC traditionally leans to the left, with close ties to the South African Communist Party, while Inkatha supports a free-market system.

Chris Hani, a leader of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, has said that both groups would launch mass protests if an interim government were not in place within six months.

The growing uneasiness of the right is also being heard. A Conservative Party spokesman has said that unless the partition of the country to give whites a homeland could be discussed, the party would not join in

negotiations. If the fundamental wishes of whites are not recognized, a peaceful transition appears unlikely.

Economic stability is of paramount importance in a post-apartheid South Africa; more than 40 percent of the population is now jobless. But threats to the economic future have come from the ANC. According to a statement reported by the Separatist news service, it has urged investors not to buy Deutsche mark-denominated bonds issued by the Development Bank of South Africa.

And ANC officials, differing with Mr. Mandela, have warned world financiers that a future democratic government would not be obligated to honor loans granted to the de Klerk administration.

What gives the economic build-up of a post-apartheid society its particularity is its likely leadership. It is rumored that Chris Hani could replace Nelson Mandela as head of the ANC. Would-be investors will carefully watch developments — particularly the prospect of strong Communist Party influence over the ANC.

The ANC must convince the international community that it will change its ways in economic matters. It looks like a long struggle ahead.

The writer, a former U.S. ambassador to Swaziland, contributed this column to the International Herald Tribune.

The War of Words Is Turning Ugly

By Gregory Clark

TOKYO — The U.S.-Japanese war of words is really turning ugly. Consider the fust over Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa's alleged attack on the American work ethic.

Mr. Miyazawa did not attack anyone's ethics. An elderly conservative named Kibun Muto did, in a question and answer session in the Diet. Obligated to reply, Mr. Miyazawa said that while there "might be a problem with the U.S. work ethic," the real problem was the 1980s frenzy for quick profits through speculation and takeovers. Japan, he added, had gone the same route.

This ended up in American news media as a vicious and unprovoked attack on American workers.

What goes on here? We are being reminded ad nauseam how then Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone supposedly said unkind things six years ago about the intelligence of minorities in the United States (he was in fact talking about education levels). Or about how Yoshio Sakurai, speaker of the Diet's lower house, said that one-third of American workers were illiterate. Or how someone else said that letting prostitutes operate in a Tokyo residential area would have the same downgrading effect as occurred when blacks moved into white residential areas in America.

Nowhere are we told that in each case a politician, talking to other Japanese, was using information from public U.S. reports.

Chrysler's chairman, Lee Iacocca, blasted the statement about illiteracy. Ironically, the figure has been tracked back to a formal survey commissioned in part by Chrysler.

Until recently there was an enormous reservoir of Japanese goodwill for the United States. Mr. Miyazawa's daughter married a senior State Department official. Most top Lib-

eral Democratic parliamentarians like to boast of personal links with the U.S. administration. Being knowledgeable about the United States is something of a status symbol, which is why politicians like to recycle the bits and pieces of information they get from the United States. Sometimes they get it wrong, but nowhere as wrong as many American commentators do about Japan.

In a recent book published in the United States called "The Japanese Power Game," William Holstein states baldly that while Japanese companies can take advantage of investment incentives offered by American states, Japanese regional authorities make no effort to encourage investment by U.S. firms. In fact, almost every one of Japan's 47 prefectures has been angling for overseas investment, and one of them, Oita, is known worldwide for its determined success in attracting U.S. high-tech firms.

The same book relates a story about how Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe told farmers opposed to the import of U.S. cherries that they need not worry. Japanese consumers would prefer pink Japanese cherries since they resembled "virgin nipples," he was quoted as saying, which was the implication that he was not just protectionist but an ugly nationalist.

Anyone who knew Japan could have told that author that Mr. Watanabe has long played a leading role in trying to force open Japan's closed farm markets. He is also known for his folksy wisecracks, and in this case it was obvious that he was trying to use the joke to soften the hostility of his deeply conservative audience.

Mr. Watanabe and others use the

same technique today in trying to break down opposition to rice liberalization, when they tell anecdotes of farmers that Japanese consumers will always prefer Japanese rice.

This is twisted by foreign observers ignorant of Japan to prove anti-foreign protectionist sentiments.

It was probably inevitable that the postwar U.S.-Japanese love affair would come unstuck. Two nations with such different cultures could not be expected to understand each other. In any case, we are now entering a tit-for-tat escalation stage in which it will be hard for either side to turn back.

The United States begins with naive ideas about how free trade must inevitably even out the trade advantage given Japan earlier as a reward for Cold War support. But in today's world of economies of scale, free trade can easily lead to one-sided trade if one side starts with an advantage. The United States then blames Japan, insisting that Japanese markets are much more closed than they really are.

Reacting to this, Japanese conservatives like Mr. Muto and Mr. Sakurai insist that it is the United States that is at fault; and to prove it they begin to recycle stories about illiterate workers and so on. Americans then react to their reactions.

Now we are seeing the next stage in the Japanese reaction. A recent issue of Aera, a semi-high-brow Japanese magazine, carried a detailed survey of recent American media distortions, complete with an unpleasant cartoon of smiling American journalists gnawing through reports from Japan with microscopes. Cartoon caricatures of Westerners are rare in the better Japanese media. One would have to go back 50 years for precedents.

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مكتبة المجلد







# Yugoslavia Fractures Further

## Leader of Bosnia-Herzegovina Declares Independence

*Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches*

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed his Muslim-dominated republic independent from Yugoslavia on Tuesday and condemned a blockade of Sarajevo by militant Serbs.

Barricades in the center of the republic's capital came down after a tense evening in which Serb militants on the blockades shot at peace demonstrators and the republic's government made some concessions to the militants.

Sarajevo returned to normal on Tuesday. Some barricades remained in the suburbs of the capital, and several roads elsewhere in the republic remained blocked.

Referendum officials said that 63.4 percent of the 3.1 million electorate voted and that 99.43 of them supported independence. Serbs boycotted the poll.

The referendum decided the question, Mr. Izetbegovic said at a news conference. "Bosnia is independent and wants to be an internationally recognized state."

The Tanjug press agency said the small republic of Montenegro, which also held a referendum on Sunday, voted decisively to remain in a rump Yugoslavia with the Serbian republic.

The swift and effective blockade fanned worries that Bosnia-Herzegovina might be propelled into ethnic violence. Four people were reported killed in the unrest Monday.

More than 6,000 people died last year in fighting between Croats and Serbs after the Croatian government declared independence.

Forty-one percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina's population is Muslims, 17 percent Croats and 31 percent Serbs, who assert that two-thirds of the republic's territory belongs to them.

Warning the Serbian minority not to try to cripple the city again, Mr. Izetbegovic said: "In the future, I will call on citizens to prevent these things. Two or three hundred thousand of them will come out, and they will take all parts of Sarajevo."

He also said the government believed the blockade was planned in advance. That assertion was denied by Biljana Plavcic, a Serbian member of the presidency.

The barricades were not planned, they were spontaneous, Mr. Plavcic said. He added that Muslims had "heated the atmosphere by saying they already had a sovereign and independent Bosnia."

Serbs had demanded greater access to the press and changes in the republic's police force. Mr. Izetbegovic announced Tuesday that a television channel would be given to Serbs and Croats and that the police force would be restructured.

Mr. Izetbegovic stressed that concessions would not include reneging on independence but that intercommunal talks would continue "and start from a point that ensures the security of a state that satisfies the interests of all three nationalities."

Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Herzegovina, threatened that Serbs there would proclaim their own republic "as a state connected with Yugoslavia" if their demands were not met.

He also warned that recognition of Bosnian independence by the European Community could result in uncontrolled violence.

The German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said in a radio interview that Bonn expected to support recognition of the republic, but would wait for a European consensus before doing so.

"When people have made a democratic decision," he said, "they have a right to get a European response to it."

(Reuters, AP)



Nikita Mikhailov, left, the Russian film director, greeting Mikhail S. Gorbachev at opening ceremonies of the former Soviet president's socio-political research foundation Tuesday in Moscow.

## Bush Says He Will See Yeltsin in June

*The Associated Press*

WASHINGTON — President George Bush said Tuesday that President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia had accepted an invitation to meet with him here in June.

Mr. Bush said the June 16-17 summit meeting would provide "an excellent opportunity to follow up on discussions the two men had on Feb. 1 at Camp David, Maryland."

He said they would discuss a range of issues, including nuclear and military questions and "joint efforts in support of reform" in Russia.

Mr. Bush expressed his respect for Mr. Yeltsin, saying "He's really doing a superb job there."

The informal meeting in February followed a United Nations Security Council summit in New York attended by Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin.

# Gorbachev Aims At 'New Civilization'

*Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches*

MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev inaugurated his new socio-political research foundation Tuesday and pledged to contribute to a "new civilization" taking shape in the world.

"Maybe we have not yet fully understood one simple fact: We do not stand merely on the threshold of a new century; we are present in the changing of eras," Mr. Gorbachev told dignitaries at the inaugural ceremony.

The former Soviet president said the new International Foundation for Economic, Social and Political Research — otherwise known as the Gorbachev Fund — had no plans to play a policy-making role in Russia.

But, flanked by dignitaries, including a former Japanese prime minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone; Vice President Alexander V. Rutskoi of Russia, Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California, and others, Mr. Gorbachev said he thought it would be a mistake to regard the foundation "as a kind of ivory tower, an ivory fortress" that is "occupied only with academic pursuits."

The fund would seek to involve itself with "moving toward a new civilization," he said.

Each day, observers said, Mr. Gorbachev claims more of the spotlight, talking like a man who would jump at the chance for a comeback.

On Tuesday, in his column for the Milan newspaper La Stampa, he praised Pope John Paul II for helping to bring about the fall of communism.

Mr. Gorbachev is visiting Germany this week as a private citizen. He will go to Japan April 11-22.

In Germany, he will meet with President Richard von Weizsäcker, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the former chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, Finance Minister Theo Waigel, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the leaders of Germany's main political parties and two state premiers.

His eight-day visit to Germany, which begins on Wednesday, comes at the invitation of his German publisher, Bertelsmann.

Bertelsmann, the world's second-largest communications group, has published two of Mr. Gorbachev's works, including "Perestroika," and has signed a contract for his next book, provisionally titled, "The Fall of the Soviet Union," according to the firm.

Last week the large-circulation weekly Bunte announced it had bought exclusive German rights to distribute columns Mr. Gorbachev has been writing for La Stampa.

Mr. Gorbachev complained recently that he was having a hard time paying his bills on a 4,000-ruble state pension.

In Tokyo, the Kyodo news agency quoted Mr. Nakasone as saying that he had told Mr. Gorbachev that when he visits Japan, he probably would meet Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe. Mr. Nakasone was also quoted as telling the former premier that a meeting with Emperor Akihito was a possibility.

(AFP, Reuters)

## TROOPS: Ethnic Conflicts

*(Continued from page 1)*

that a Mi-26 helicopter evacuating women and children from Stepanakert had been shot down over Azerbaijani territory. According to Russian television, there were no survivors. The Azerbaijani news agency reported that Armenia was making 10 to 15 helicopter flights into Stepanakert per day to keep the city supplied with food and ammunition.

In Moldova, fighting continued Monday and Tuesday around the headquarters of a civilian defense regiment of the former Soviet Army stationed just outside the town of Dubossari. According to Tass, Moldovan militiamen broke into the barracks Monday afternoon and seized 70 automatic rifles, about 2,000 rounds of ammunition, and other weapons.

Tass said a bus evacuating servicemen's families from the military base came under fire early Tuesday morning. Moldovan activists have accused the former Soviet Army of siding with Russian-speaking secessionists who have declared their own republic on the eastern bank of the Dniestr River.

## JAPAN: 'Do We Work Too Hard?'

*(Continued from page 1)*

of Japanese workers to toil long and hard without complaining is giving way to a new debate over whether Japanese are working too hard. Increasingly, Japanese are willing to answer yes.

Unions have begun demanding shorter hours, for instance, and many are saying more openly that their long hours at work have not yielded sufficient benefits or improved standards of living.

"The Japanese are clearly overworked," said Hiroyuki Kawaguchi, assistant general secretary of Rengo, the largest trade union federation. "After all these years of prosperity, we are at a turning point. From now on, the system must respond to our demands for shorter hours."

Mr. Kawaguchi's prediction may be overstated, but the downward trend in work time is clear and has been for the last few years. Many offices and factories that used to be open on Saturday have started to stay closed all weekend in the last couple of years. The average time worked by Japanese declined from 2,432 hours a year in 1960 to 2,009 last year, according to the Ministry of Labor.

The ministry has set a target of 1,800 hours next year and is pushing for legislation to achieve the goal. Few believe it can be reached, but it has become politically popular in Japan to call for everyone to stop working so hard.

Shorter working hours and more comfortable workplaces are national goals to make our working lives less stressful," Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa said in a recent speech, sounding a note that contrasted sharply with his recent comment that Americans may lack a "work ethic."

Despite the decline in work hours, Japanese still work harder than Americans. By some calculations, they work the equivalent of a month more than their American counterparts every year.

Moreover, the Labor Ministry's statistics showing that Japanese work shorter hours probably exaggerate the trend because Japanese companies routinely underreport the hours their employees work. A recent survey found that 55 percent of employees worked unpaid — and unrecorded — overtime.

To our readers in Vietnam: You can now receive the IHT hand delivered to your home or office on the day of publication.

## EUROPE: Adding up the Costs of United Germany for Neighbors and Trading Partners

*(Continued from page 1)*

marks (\$18.3 billion) in 1991 from being an exporter of 120 billion DM in 1988.

What is more, although no one denies that the German boom sucked in billions of dollars of imports of everything from cars to cookies, many argue that the stimulus fell primarily on Germany's immediate neighbors.

"Holland, Austria and Belgium gained much more from the German boom than Italy, the U.K. or the more distant countries," Mr. Brown said.

Understandably, many German economists in toying up the bill for reunification.

"Basically, by a historical accident, we have done what American economists have asked us to do for years: stimulate domestic demand," Mr. Siebert said. He indicated that the huge government deficits engendered by reunification had produced a highly stimulative impact on the economy and on its appetite for imports.

As many Germans see it, for two years they successfully played the role of Europe's economic locomotive, and thus they deserve accolades and not opprobrium.

"Involuntarily, fiscal policy became very expensive, and others outside of Germany benefited from it," said Peter Pietsch, the chief economist at Commerzbank in Frankfurt. He argued that without the boost from reunification Germany would probably have slid into recession 18 months ago, along with Britain and the United States, thus making a bad situation worse.

Now the German economy has been forced into a stall by potent combination of tax increases and interest rate rises designed to cool the economy and rein in inflation. For the rest of Europe, economists say, those interest rates, raised another half percentage point as recently as December, will magnify the deleterious effects of the German slowdown on their economies.

Making matters more frustrating is the widespread notion that fiscal misuses contributed significantly to the Bundesbank's need to increase those interest rates.

"It is no good for Chancellor Kohl to tell us the Bundesbank did what it had to do, since in practice they feared a government committed to spending much more than it took in," Mr. Eyal said.

Norbert Walter, the chief economist with Deutsche Bank, calculates that Bonn's fiscal errors have indeed added a full percentage point to interest rates. What's more, the spirit of boom lives on in the form of demands for hefty raises from German workers.

Economists who had once forecast that easing inflationary pressures would permit a slide in German interest rates beginning in the spring have now pushed those forecasts off until the late summer.

"The way things are going with the current wage talks in Germany, it might even be next year," said Daniel Gros, senior research fellow at the Center for European Studies in Brussels.

Slumping economies like those of Britain and France are tied to Germany's economic lead by formal links to the Deutsche mark via the European exchange-rate mechanism. So those economies are left laboring under interest rates widely conceded to be more appropriate for battering down demand than boosting it.

In France, Italy and Britain, where elections loom in the next two months, the rigors of the German-inspired harsh monetary regime are particularly burdensome.

"France's unemployment is twice as high as Germany's, and that creates strong political pressures," said Stefan Collignon, the director of research for the Association for the Monetary Union of Europe in Paris.

Particularly in Britain, it has also led to criticism of the exchange-rate mechanism, the system by which Frankfurt-minted monetary policies are automatically transferred throughout the European Community.

Many economists warn, however, that it is wrong to place too much blame on the Germans since it is hard to argue that economic conditions from Lyon to Liverpool would be greatly different if German interest rates were 1 percentage point lower. Then too, they credit the Bundesbank's strongly disciplined approach to monetary policy with the tremendous progress made in reducing inflation throughout the Community.

Moreover, many see the result of German reunification — a stronger, larger German economy — as a long-term plus.

"In the medium and long term it will have a stimulatory effect," said Mr. Siebert. He predicts that the German economy would grow at an above-average rate for the next decade.

What ticks some analysts, however, is that more than two years into its new role as the clearly preeminent economic force in Europe, Germany seems to have taken all too little notice of its new responsibilities. Many economists point to the half-point rise in Germany's short-term interest rates in December as a sign of that.

"We said at the time that the Bundesbank should not only look at domestic targets but international conditions as well," said Mr. Pietsch.

## Change Constitution, Canada Panel Says

*Washington Post Service*

TORONTO — A parliamentary unity committee has recommended major changes to the Canadian Constitution in an effort to keep Quebec from seceding and the 125-year-old Canadian confederation from fragmenting.

The all-party committee proposed that more powers be granted to the provinces, particularly Quebec, and that Quebec be constitutionally recognized as a "distinct society" because of its French language, culture and tradition of civil law. The committee suggested that Quebec and the other provinces be given greater control over immigration policies, manpower training, culture and regional development.

But the committee's report appeared to fall short of the Quebec legislature's demand last year for exclusive jurisdiction over 22 areas of governance and shared control over 10 other departments.

A more modest package of constitutional changes, known as the Meech Lake Accord and containing a similar distinct-society clause, failed in June 1990 to win ratification from Canada's 10 provinces. This led to the resurgence of an independence movement in Quebec.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said in Ottawa that the proposed amendments represented only the beginning of a consultative process. He said a "precise constitutional offer" would be presented to Quebec in mid-April. The Quebec government has said that Ottawa fails to present acceptable changes that would allow it to sign the 1982 Canadian Constitution, it will hold a plebiscite on secession by Oct. 26.

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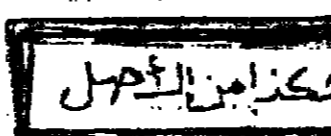
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WORLD ENTER





Faces by Hollywood, Words by Berlin

By Marc Fisher, Washington Post Service

BERLIN — Christian Brueckner, a bearded, austere-looking German intellectual, is Robert De Niro, Warren Beatty, Peter Fonda and Robert Redford.

Lutz Riedel, a tall, elegant fellow with a sweeping shock of salt-and-pepper hair, is Richard Gere.

OFFSTAGE

Timothy Dalton and even Ronald Reagan.

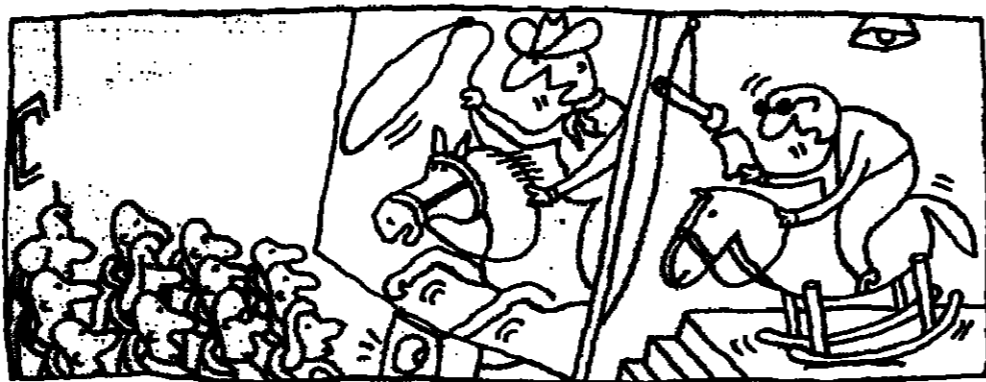
Suzanne Bonasiewicz, a plain, shy sort with a pale complexion and a bit too much weight, is Kelly McGillis and Sissy Spacek.

Brueckner, Riedel and Bonasiewicz are dubbers, the German voices of Hollywood stars. Virtually all are Hollywood productions. And all are dubbed into German — not a subtle in sight.

But even when done with technical skill, where actors' lips move or less match the sound you hear, German dubbing is absurd. Imagine "It's a Wonderful Life" with Jimmy Stewart's voice replaced by the precise diction of an instructor on a Berlitz language-cassette.

Or "Driving Miss Daisy" with Jessica Tandy and Morgan Freeman speaking the German equivalent of the King's English — no accent, no drawl, no charm.

That's how Germans see American movies. And still they go in droves — despite dubbing, despite having to sit through a half-hour of commercials before the feature starts, despite a jarring pause in the middle of the movie to give the theater 15 minutes to sell more candy.



Nikola Andrić/HT

"The people are used to this," says Joachim Kuester, manager of Berliner Synchron, one of Germany's largest dubbing studios. "It's comfortable for them."

Riedel has another explanation. "It began in the Third Reich," he said. "Before that, we used subtitles. But the Nazis, out of nationalism, insisted on dubbing. The system was supposed to encourage good Germans to believe that anything worth seeing was — or at least appeared to be — German."

De Niro, Beatty and Redford have never heard of Christian Brueckner. Neither have German audiences. Unknown, unappreciated, dubbers toil in dark studios, where they stand at lecterns, reading lines from a loose-leaf binder, glancing up at a screen where they watch big stars mouthing different words. They get no credit.

A dubber's career is determined as much by the success of some American actors as by the German's own skills. Bonasiewicz, for example, started doing Spacek's voice in the 1977 film "3 Women." For 15 years, she has continued as the German Spacek.

"I don't try to do her voice," Bonasiewicz says. "I try to do it the way I would as an actress."

BRUECKNER is a rarity in dubbing. His De Niro is a remarkable imitation of the real thing, complete with swallowed syllables and street-smart intonation. Brueckner's own voice is a studied, sonorous actorly rumble, but having done De Niro ever since "Taxi Driver," he has mastered the sounds.

"I do Beatty in a clear and elegant voice, but with De Niro, I'm more gravelly," he says. "I try more to stir the lines."

It is possible to make a living dubbing — a lead role that takes four days to tape can mean a fee of several thousand dollars — but few actors devote their careers to the anonymous work. Brueckner, like many dubbers, also acts on the stage, and on radio and television.

Riedel's voice is occasionally recognized at restaurants or in airports, and he was once invited to appear at a German James Bond fan club convention. But like most

dubbers, he has never met the actors he plays.

Berlin studios sometimes try to get American stars attending the city's annual film festival to come out and meet their German counterparts. The invitations are nearly always declined. "They don't like the idea of someone 'stealing' their voices," says Riedel.

Thanks to the language's complex sentence structure and unfathomably long words, a German sentence can be half again as long as its English equivalent. So dubbing writers must edit scripts savagely and smartly. Even then, actors often have to speed through their lines at almost incomprehensible rates to squeeze the words into the available mouth movements.

Riedel, who also edits scripts into German, routinely has to make up plays on words that try to approximate the original meaning. In the cartoon-like action feature "Who Framed Roger Rabbit," Eddie Valiant sends his girlfriend to check the probate records.

"Ah, my uncle had probate," Roger says. "He had to stay in bed and drink lots of water."

"Prostate" in German is Prostata. So far, so good. But "probate" is Erbschein. Not funny.

"I didn't know what to do," Riedel says. "I sat there for an hour. Finally, I found something close. I did a word play on Inspizieren [inspect] and infizieren [infect]."

IN the German edition of "Rain Man," Dustin Hoffman's halting, garbled rendition of the effects of autism is played by a dubber reading lines in a clear, smooth German of the highest order.

"We did it as well as we could," says Kuester. "We have no parakeets here."

German dubbing executives and directors say audiences will not accept anything but "stage German," a crystal-clear, lovingly tendered form of the language that is marvelous for Shakespeare and Brecht, but seems odd coming out of the mouths of Eddie Murphy and Sylvester Stallone.

It would be "ethnically wrong" to replace American dialects with their German equivalents when dubbing, Kuester says.

"That's the limitation of the form," Riedel says.

The results range from the comically bad to the simply distracting. In "Paris, Texas" — made, ironically enough, in English by a German director, Wim Wenders — a crucial joke involves the fact that a main character's wife is from Paris, Texas, while his daughter-in-law is from Paris, France. But in the German version, the French woman speaks the same unaccented German as the drawing Texans do. Germans say the dubbed version is almost impossible to figure out.



Margherita Buy in Carlo Verdone's "Maledetto il Giorno Che T'Ho Incontrato."

Italy's Muse for Minimalists

Margherita Buy Is an Actress of Eloquent Silences

By Ken Shulman

LORENCE — Margherita Buy is not entirely unlike the rickety, reeling, chronically ill-at-ease young women she personifies on the screen. Her face betrays the pain that intelligence often inflicts on the overly sensitive. She smokes obsessively. Her eyes dance from side to side and her jaw muscles ripple.

Yet unlike the disoriented characters she has played, the 28-year-old Roman actress — whose latest film is one of Italy's top box-office draws — has a clear sense of where she is and where she would like to stay professionally.

"I come from a different kind of cinema, from small productions, first films made by young directors who are fighting to be heard," she says. "I need to work from life, in films that can stir up powerful feelings, that can provoke hate, or love, or shame. I'm happy with 'Maledetto.' But now I'd like to go back to something closer to my own sensibilities." She was referring to Carlo Verdone's "Maledetto il Giorno Che T'Ho Incontrato" (Curse The Day I Met You), her most recent film.

Buy is the most expressive — and least known outside Italy — of a new generation of Italian actresses. Although trained for the stage, she conveys more with silences than with words. At her best, she fuses the passion of a silent-film star with the composure of a 14th-century Italian madonna.

"I admire Margherita for having exposed the part of her that is subtle and precarious, and for having transformed it into a style," says Nino Bizzari, who gave Buy her first part in his first film, "La Seconda Notte" (The Second Night, 1986).

"Here was an entirely new face, full of tension. She was intelligent, competent. And she had this inner rage to express herself."

After "La Settimana della Sfiga" (The Week of the Sphinx, 1988), for which she was named best actress at the San Sebastian film festival, Buy won acclaim in "La Stazione" (The Station, 1990). Directed by Buy's husband and co-star, Sergio Rubini, "La Stazione" was adapted from a play in which she had acted for three seasons in Rome.

"I'm proud of 'La Stazione' because I really feel that we created something with it," she says. "Both in theater and on film. These are the sort of productions I like to work in. Where everything happens naturally," she adds, smiling apologetically, "like a loaf of bread."

In 1991, Buy played Elena, another disorganized young woman who can break but not bend, in Giuseppe Piccioni's "Chiedi la Luna" (Shoot for the Moon). It was a compelling, disturbing performance that prompted one Italian critic to dub her "the muse of a generation of minimalists."

While less substantial than her previous roles, the neurotic actress she plays in "Maledetto" is still entirely credible. Buy does not regret having made a mass-market film, and the positive reviews were welcome. But for the future, she intends to return to her origins.

"We need to have the courage to do new things," says Buy, who has shunned lucrative offers for a role in Piccioni's "L'Ultimo Desiderio" (The Last Wish). "To search and create moving stories, from life. Everyone runs the risk of being reduced or confined to the image that he or she has helped to create. And I'm not interested in working just for working's sake."

Ken Shulman is an American writer based in Italy.

LONDON THEATER

Born-Again 'Uncle Vanya' Is Breathtaking

By Sheridan Morley, International Herald Tribune

LONDON — The case against the National Theatre producing another "Uncle Vanya" must have seemed a strong one: not only has it been the most overproduced (in all senses) of Chekhov's last few London years, but it is the play which more than any other, in the 1963 Olivier/Rodriguez staging, defined the initial greatness of the company, and defied challenge for almost 30 years on their territory.

All praise therefore to Sean Mathias, a young director and dramatist who has assembled an immensely starry cast and then reassessed them, on the National's studio stage at the Cottesloe, to play "Vanya" as never before. From Anthony Sher's first entrance as a sweaty, neurotic, environment-campaigning Astrov, it is clear that all Chekhov's characters have been taken back to the drawing-board and reconsidered in the light

of what we now know of Russia at the turn of the century.

Pam Gems's adaptation has itself been reworked in rehearsals attended by Russian scholars over a period of several months. Rehearsals for it began well before Christmas, as a series of textual debates, and have progressed to this fully-fledged staging, dominated by the balancing act of Sher's intense Astrov and Ian McKellen's vaguely professorial Vanya, only inspired to passion when his life's work is threatened by Serebryakov's cavalier decision to sell Vanya's family estate from beneath his very feet.

The result of all this research has been that "Uncle Vanya" now seems to be a new play, or at least one newly discovered. We are no longer dealing with a twilight-of-empire piece, nor yet a two-character struggle between Astrov and Vanya for the love of Yelena or the sympathy of the audience.

Eric Porter's blistering, treacherous Professor, Janet McTeer's Yelena, not so much languid as deep-frozen, and Lesley Sharp's

hopelessly lovelorn Sonya all have an equal claim to our attention here, but what is most intriguing about Sher and McKellen is the way in which they redefine their own characteristics, Sir Ian becoming woolly and Sher becoming sharper as they examine the depths of their own despair.

THE dramatist Ron Hutchinson is a child of Ulster who now lives as a screenwriter in Los Angeles. It is difficult, therefore, not to find something autobiographical in his new play "Pygmalion in the Rain" at the Royal Court, which centers on the internal debate in the mind of a Northern Irish police photographer trying to decide whether or not to start a new life in Florida far from the religious and political agonies of his homeland.

But Hutchinson's play is more complex than that. It starts with a Belfast murder of the present day, and swiftly moves back to 1871 and an unsolved crime involving the servant-girl of one of the modern city's first fathers.

It soon becomes clear that what is at trial here is Belfast itself. Hutchinson brings together his Victorians and his latter-day policemen in an attempt to sort out whether anything can ever be done about the domestic and political violence of the city, or whether the only possible personal solution is to catch the nearest boat or plane west or east.

Like all such allegories, "Pygmalion in the Rain" tends to disappear up its own uncertainties, but Hutchinson is a powerful writer whose "Rat in the Skull" was arguably the first major play to emerge from the current Ulster troubles, and along the way here we stumble into some powerful confrontations involving both the Victorian secret establishment (whose alibi for killing was the building of Belfast) and the contemporary, tortured peacekeepers (whose alibi is the destruction of Belfast).

The parallels are variable, and Hutchinson is all too often uncertain whether he is writing a period whodunit or a modern morality play. But Eoin O'Callaghan's staging draws some very strong perfor-

mances, not least from Ian McElhinney's policeman, forever halfway to the airport and Florida but trapped by the views over his shoulder of his homeland and those who feel the urge to cry for it.

We expect, largely because of O'Casey, too much of our Irish dramatists of the Troubles, but just as the politics are no longer as clear-cut as they were in 1916, so the dramas need to take account of an infinitely more confused no-win situation on all sides.

'Ruy Blas': It's All in the Family

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss, International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The Bouffes du Nord, once a neighborhood music hall and now the revered showroom of Peter Brook's experiments, has a new hit. Its latest occupant is a reprise of "Ruy Blas" so adroit that its premiere audience welcomed it with thunderous appreciation.

Georges Wilson, the actor and director, has taken Victor Hugo's 1838 war-horse from its stable to supply his rising son, Lambert, with the grand role of the lowborn lackey of pure heart whose courage wins the love of the young bride of Philip IV of Spain.

Wilson's fit is not unknown to stage, screen and television. Not long ago he expanded his activities to include a concert of popular music, singing songs of Stephen Sondheim and others at the Casino de Paris, but it is only now at the Bouffes du Nord that he has been cast as a leading player. Gifted in voice, appearance and gesture, he displays his mettle as an actor of star quality.

Georges Wilson suggests Hugo's version of the 17th-century Madrid with subtle skill, creating the palace as a dark nest of intrigue where much takes place by candlelight and a sense of fatality stalks. The period costuming is rich, but glittering tableaux are absent.

THE casting could not be better. Florence Darel as the young restless queen has radiance and an appealing voice. Erienne Chion as the out-of-office Don César de Bazan, who has been reduced to rags and beggary and laughs away his misfortunes, is an amusing rogue. Jean-Claude Drouot scores strongly as the villain. Jacques Marchand is hilarious as the tipsy messenger, as is Georges Riquier as the preposterous guardian of the queen.

Francis Huster is infatigating today's French youngsters as Gérard Philippe did the girls and boys of a generation ago. Last year he gave a solo show, acting all the characters in his adaptation of Albert Camus's novel "The Plague." Earlier this



Lambert Wilson in his father's 'Ruy Blas' staging.

season he impersonated Gustav Mahler, the composer and conductor. Now he has unveiled his production of "Le Misanthrope" at the Théâtre Marigny with himself as Alceste.

As Molière's appointed scourge of the fast set at Louis XIV's court, Huster operates unevenly. He im-

parts the fanatical fury of the would-be reformer with full force, pouring venomous scorn on simpering fops and their giggling ladies.

Then after his improvement campaign fails, costing him the loss of his companions and his marriage proposal, he gathers scant sympathy for Alceste's downfall. His portrayal is strangely incomplete. Where is the rest of the misanthrope?

The production is fetching, with its decor of a playhouse of the Sun King's era and the accompaniment of period music, while the company has been appropriately selected.

Outstanding is Robert Hirsch's fatuous Oronte, a dandy of lordly manner who dabbles in letters and brings his poetry for Alceste's judgment. Tottering on high heels, his ornate staff atremble in his hand, he listens to the devastating comments in horrified silence, his face twisting in this way and that, his lips twitching, as he receives each word of the singing criticism. Here is a gorgeous example of pantomimic caricature.

"C'est bien" (at the Théâtre La Bruyère) has a splendid quartet of players and the harmony of its ensemble performance must be traced

to the excellent direction by Stéphan Meldegg. The play has been adapted from James Saunders' British original, "Making It Better," a curious tale about a loose London married couple who become entangled with two Czech refugees around the time that Vaclav Havel became the land's leader. As it is devised as a suspense thriller it would be unfair to disclose its secrets. It is recommended as entertainment. Béatrice Agenin, Stéphane Freiss, Maurice Garrel and Jacques Frantz are its clever interpreters.

Ludmila Miksaël and Gérard Desarthe, both distinguished artists of the stage, engage in an amusing tête-à-tête in Jacques Rappaport's pastiche of libertine literature, "Cécilienne et le Cardinal" (at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin), in which a stern churchman of lofty station, worried about the morals of a rich widow, meets a charming mistress of his youth and seeks to save her from hell and the possible chutes of the Inquisition.

The dialogue has witty sparkle and bite and the session passes most agreeably in the company of the two settled in a handsome drawing-room.

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CRIMINAL NUMBER 91-0655 (JHG)

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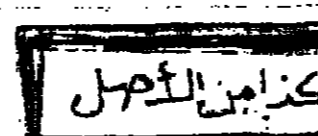
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MEDIA MARKETS

More Companies Lure Gay Consumers' Dollars

By Georgina Dullea New York Times Service NEW YORK — Christopher Hutzenga's recipe for a perfect Bloody Mary calls for Absolut vodka, a brand that is widely advertised in gay newspapers. He buys underwear with the Calvin Klein label because of what he calls the company's "gay-sensitive" ads in mainstream magazines.

As a gay person, said Mr. Hutzenga, a 45-year-old owner of a real estate agency, "I'm aware of which companies are reaching out to us, and I will go out of my way to support them."

In an era of niche marketing, more companies are reaching out for the gay dollar these days, with varying degrees of openness. Some national advertisers are buying space for the first time in gay publications. Others are looking for ways to subtly acknowledge homosexuals in the mainstream media without alienating heterosexuals.

To many marketers, homosexual couples are an important part of the biggest of the big spenders, a category known as dinks (double income, no kids). When ads that speak to gay men and lesbians appear in publications that cater to them, consumers like Mr. Hutzenga demonstrate brand loyalty.

A Chicago market-research company, Overlooked Opinions Inc., recently released a demographic survey that found that gay men had an average household income of \$51,235 and lesbians \$45,927, compared with the national average of \$36,520.

Drawing on responses from samples of a randomly selected group of 1,000 men and women, the company has developed a profile of gay consumers — their buying habits, brand preferences and life styles.

THE MAJOR FINDINGS of the Overlooked Opinions survey — that homosexuals tend to be more affluent and better educated; about 60 percent have college degrees, compared with 20 percent of the general population — were similar to those in a readership study of eight gay newspapers done in 1988 by Simmons Market Research Bureau in New York.

The demographics add up to a "dream market," said Michael Gravois, president of Rivendell Marketing of Plainfield, New Jersey, which sells ads for gay publications. He cited the example of Remy Martin cognac, a longtime advertiser in gay papers, as proof of readers' brand loyalty. "Remy Martin is the No. 5 cognac nationwide," he said, "but among gays it's No. 1."

Surveys show that gay people are avid readers, which may be why so many book clubs are among the mainstream marketers buying mailing lists from the Strub Media Group's data base of 300,000 names of gay men and lesbians.

"Everybody's going after gay business," said Sean Strub, the owner of the direct-mail company in Rockland County, New York. "This is happening in such a targeted way that no one else would recognize it."

It is also happening in ways that everyone recognizes. For example, a 60-foot-high billboard for a cruise company, now on view in West Hollywood, California, shows two men in bathing suits, with one man's arm around the other. "RSPV Gay Cruises," it reads. "Call Your Travel Agent."

And then there is the glossy new catalog that landed in 250,000 mailboxes last fall. Shocking Gray, "the catalog for the other 25 million people," resembles countless others — with offerings like post-modern birdbaths and pet perfumes.

Its 20 pages are filled with photographs of models, but only same-sex couples are shown. "Gays never get that visual affirmation," said Cynthia Cesnais, a founder of the catalog company. "We're bombarded with images of straight couples."

CURRENCY RATES

Table with columns for Cross Rates and Other Dollar Values, listing various currencies and their exchange rates.

INTEREST RATES

Table with columns for Eurocurrency Deposits, Key Money Rates, and Asian Dollar Deposits, listing interest rates for various financial instruments.

Indicators In U.S. Rise 0.9%

Fed Still Cautious About Recovery

By Lawrence Malkin International Herald Tribune NEW YORK — More signs appeared Tuesday that the worst is over for the U.S. economy. Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, said they were tentative at best and that the pace of recovery was "little more than glacial."

The Commerce Department index of leading indicators for January rose 0.9 percent after declining for two months. It was the strongest gain since July, when the economy started climbing out of recession only to lose momentum at the end of the year, an occurrence that is making forecasters more cautious this time.

Seven of the 11 indicators that make up the index advanced, led by higher stock prices and plant and equipment orders. The principal drags were a shorter workweek and declining consumer expectations.

The index is the government's principal forecasting gauge of conditions six to nine months ahead, but its record is sufficiently spotty for economists to want to see several months of gains.

"It's just bouncing around," said David Wynn of DRI/McGraw Hill, "and you need consistency."

But the financial markets' perception of a strengthening economy pushed up bond interest rates to a yield of 7.95 percent on 30-year U.S. Treasuries. It also sent the dollar sharply up in New York by more than a penny and more than one yen.

Some believe the dollar has definitely turned along with the economy, but Carl Weinberg of High Frequency Economics said the inflow was not being parked in bonds.

"The implication is that hot money is flowing into dollars, and we remain on the lookout for a dollar correction back to the levels of two months ago," he said.

Another good economic sign was a rise of 12.9 percent in single family home sales during January, the strongest increase since February 1990. The rise clearly resulted from

See DATA, Page 12

EC Budget: A Leisurely Pace

By Charles Goldsmith International Herald Tribune BRUSSELS — The European Community's far-reaching financial review as it forges toward monetary and political union is taking far longer than expected and is already running into major political difficulties in a number of member states.

Approaching national elections in Britain and Italy, and regional elections in France and Germany, have made politicians cautious to commit themselves to a major new EC spending plan out of fear that voters, sensing higher taxes, will take their revenge at the ballot box.

Germany's growing internal debate over the Community, which followed the summit of EC leaders in the Dutch city of Maastricht in December, also has slowed an ambitious initial timetable for negotiations on a new five-year EC budget.

The 1993-1997 budget, which is designed to fund the sweeping commitments pledged at Maastricht, is considered a pivotal element in the Community's quest for greater union and an enhanced role on the international stage.

"It is now a widely shared view that the budget talks will have to go into the British presidency," said a British diplomat, whose country will take over the rotating EC presidency on July 1 from Portugal for six months.

Top EC officials originally had hoped to conclude the budget negotiations at the June summit of Community leaders in Lisbon, and there was widespread talk of a special summit in April to move the process along. That talk has now been all but silenced.

"A special summit has now or less been abandoned," said an EC diplomat involved in the negotiations. "People have reached a sensible conclusion that an April summit would not be a helpful thing because the debate is not yet far enough down the track."

The regularly scheduled June summit, he said, will likely fill the role previously envisaged for a special April summit, "of clearing out the deadwood and sorting things out for the rest of the negotiations."

See BUDGET, Page 13

Sun Hires Soviet Computer Wizard

By John Markoff New York Times Service MOUNTAIN VIEW, California — A Silicon Valley company has hired the Russian scientist who created the supercomputers used by the Soviet space program and nuclear weapons designers.

The contract is one of the first examples of an American business tapping the wealth of scientific talent that until recently was dedicated to the Soviet Union's vast military program.

The Russian scientist, Boris A. Babayan, will set up a laboratory in Moscow for Sun Microsystems Inc. that will employ his team of about 50 software and hardware designers.

The team's full-time efforts will come at an astounding low price for Sun. Its members will be paid a little more than their current salaries of a few hundred dollars a year in American dollars.

Top American computer designers sell their services for \$100,000 a year or more, but Sun officials and Mr.

Babayan said the Russians on the new team could not be paid that handsomely without engendering bitter feelings among their colleagues.

Other high-technology companies are searching for similar scientific windfalls. But while the U.S. government supports efforts to keep Russian scientists away from hostile countries, it has been wary of projects like Sun's for fear that vital American technology will be shared with scientists in a nation that someday could again become an enemy.

Mr. Babayan, 59, said that Russian computer scientists have been largely isolated during the last three decades and, as a result, have pursued some innovative approaches new to the West.

"There are two distinct computing cultures; we have new ideas for thinking about high-speed computing hardware," he said Thursday.

Mr. Babayan's role in what was the Soviet Union closely parallels that of Seymour R. Cray, the legendary American computer designer.

Japan Suspects Bias In Honda Decision

By David E. Sanger New York Times Service TOKYO — A simmering dispute over Honda automobiles produced in North America flared Tuesday into a battle between the United States and Japan, with Tokyo declaring that it is investigating whether Washington is "discriminating against Japanese interests."

The announcement came a day after the Bush administration ruled that Honda Motor Co. owed millions of dollars in tariffs for Civic automobiles imported to the United States from Canada because they do not contain enough parts made in North America. Canada has concluded just the opposite, that the cars are more than 50 percent American and qualify for duty-free treatment under the U.S.-Canada Free-Trade Agreement.

Honda and the U.S. Customs Service have argued for months over the proper interpretation of "local content," and the Canadian authorities have sided with the automaker.

On Tuesday the Japanese government, which until now has stayed out of the dispute, strongly protested the ruling. Some officials suggested that the decision was the result of election-year politics and that the administration is eager to demonstrate that it is being tough with Japanese companies.

Emerging from a meeting of the Japanese cabinet in the morning, the minister of international trade and industry, Koze Watanabe, said that the ruling appeared to constitute "unfair discrimination" against a Japanese company and that an investigation would begin immediately.

The Foreign Ministry, which is usually eager to patch over trade disputes with the United States, sounded a similar theme.

"If the new guidelines are interpreted in a way that is discriminatory against Japanese interests or Japanese transplants, we will take appropriate steps," Masanichi Hanabusa, the ministry's chief spokesman, said. He declined to specify what those steps might be.

Since the end of President George Bush's trip to Japan in January, Japanese officials have argued with increasing intensity that Congress, and to a lesser degree the administration, is seeking political retribution against Japanese companies operating in the United States. There was considerable attention, for example, when Attorney General William P. Barr said on television two weeks ago that the administration was considering a change in policy to make the antitrust laws "a much more useful tool" against "cartels overseas that restrict U.S. exports."

Mr. Barr was clearly referring to

Japanese keiretsu, the interlocking networks of companies that supply parts, often on an exclusive basis, to Japanese manufacturers. His comments were quickly shot down by other administration officials, and it is not clear that any serious re-evaluation of the antitrust policy is under way. But in Japan, the incident has been used as evidence that laws are being re-interpreted to slow Japanese success in the American market.

Similarly, the Honda dispute, which began as a technical dispute over differing interpretations in the United States and Canada of "local content," has grown into a political argument. It has become enmeshed in the continuing arguments over Japanese purchases of American auto parts and the layoffs of thousands of Detroit autoworkers.

Japanese executives say they have little recourse. They cannot back away from their plans to invest heavily in the United States and Canada, the key to keeping Japanese exports of finished cars to a minimum. But if the decision stands, it could force them to move more production to the United States rather than to Canada or — if the free-trade agreement is extended — to Mexico.

In responding to the ruling, Japanese officials seemed to reveal in taking a page from American trade-negotiating strategy, accusing the United States of promulgating deliberately vague rules to protect its markets.

As a press briefing, Mr. Hanabusa said there was "a certain lack of transparency" in the guidelines, almost the exact words that U.S. officials have used in complaining about Japanese rules for buying everything from supercomputers to construction services.

Japanese officials also cited rulings by Canada's revenue division to support their claim that politics lie behind the dispute.

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MARKET DIARY

Dow Hits Record In Wary Trading

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange climbed for the second straight day Tuesday in cautious trading...

N.Y. Stocks

Monday, added 14.98 points to 3,290.25, topping the record of 3,283.32 set Feb. 26. Analysts said the key barometer was within easy reach of 3,300...

DATA: Faint Signs of Recovery

(Continued from first finance page) The Fed's aggressive December cut in interest rates, and the improvement in the housing market was one of the factors cited by Mr. Greenspan...

Foreign Exchange

little oil on a small fire, even though he said he was "not certain that what we see at this stage will create a self-sustaining recovery."

He forecast lower inflation and lower long-term interest rates, which the Fed is counting on to stimulate a revival of corporate borrowing...



Table of NYSE Most Active stocks including IBM, AT&T, and General Electric.

Table of NYSE Diary showing market activity for various sectors like Tech, Health, and Energy.

Table of Amex Diary showing market activity for Amex-listed companies.

Table of NASDAQ Diary showing market activity for NASDAQ-listed companies.

Table of Dow Jones Averages showing indices for Industrials, Utilities, and Finance.

Table of Standard & Poor's Indexes showing various industry and market indices.

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Table of EUROPEAN FUTURES for various commodities like Wheat, Soybeans, and Corn.

Table of SUGAR (FOOD) and COCOA (FOOD) futures.

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Table of U.S. FUTURES for various commodities like Grains, Soybeans, and Cattle.

Chrysler Forms Electric Car Venture. LOS ANGELES (Reuters) — Chrysler Corp. and Westinghouse Electric Corp. on Tuesday set up a multimillion dollar joint venture to develop a new propulsion system for electric cars.

BankAmerica to Spin Off Branches. NEW YORK (Bloomberg) — BankAmerica agreed to divest itself of \$2.4 billion in deposits and spin off 49 branches in Arizona to win state approval for its merger with Security Pacific.

Bertelsmann Acquires N.Y. Building. GUTERSLOH, Germany (Reuters) — German publishing group Bertelsmann AG said on Tuesday it had bought a 44-story office tower in central Manhattan for \$119 million.

Texaco Restarts Kuwait-Zone Wells. WHITE PLAINS, New York (UPI) — One year after the end of the Gulf War, Texaco Inc. said Tuesday it had resumed oil production at the company's facilities in the Neutral Zone between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

TWA Operating Loss Grew in '91. WILMINGTON, Delaware (Reuters) — Trans World Airlines Inc. said Tuesday it posted a 1991 loss from operations of \$553.5 million, more than double the year-earlier loss of \$162.3 million.

AT&T Automation to Cut 6,000 Jobs. BASKING RIDGE, New Jersey (Reuters) — American Telephone & Telegraph Co. said it would cut as many as 6,000 jobs and close 31 offices after it deploys its voice-recognition technology for long-distance calling in 1994.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Table of World Stock Markets showing indices for Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, London, Milan, Madrid, Paris, Singapore, Stockholm, Toronto, Zurich, and Johannesburg.

Elf Sale Set for March 13

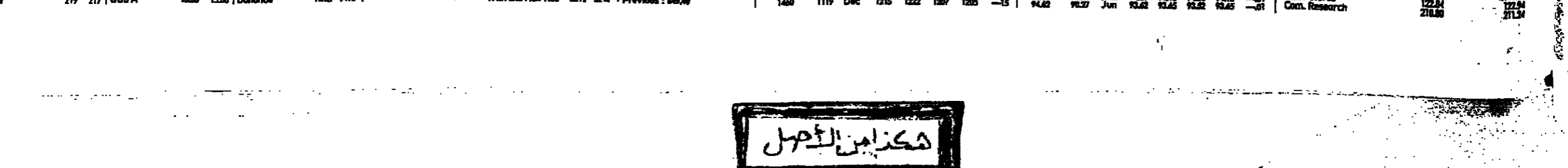
PARIS — The government will sell 2.3 percent of the oil group Société Nationale Elf Aquitaine on the market on March 13, Pierre Bérégovoy, the economics and finance minister, said Tuesday.

U.S. FUTURES

Table of U.S. Futures for various commodities like Grains, Soybeans, Cattle, and Metals.

U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

Table of U.S. Market Close showing indices for S&P 500, NYSE, Amex, and NASDAQ, along with commodity and stock indices.









# NYSE

**Tuesday's Closing**  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

Symbol	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
IBM	115.75	115.25	115.50	115.50	+
MSFT	34.75	34.25	34.50	34.50	+
GE	28.75	28.25	28.50	28.50	+
AMT	26.75	26.25	26.50	26.50	+
DIS	25.75	25.25	25.50	25.50	+
BA	24.75	24.25	24.50	24.50	+
AT&T	23.75	23.25	23.50	23.50	+
INTL	22.75	22.25	22.50	22.50	+
WAL	21.75	21.25	21.50	21.50	+
CVX	20.75	20.25	20.50	20.50	+
MRK	19.75	19.25	19.50	19.50	+
UNION	18.75	18.25	18.50	18.50	+
AMGEN	17.75	17.25	17.50	17.50	+
AMER	16.75	16.25	16.50	16.50	+
AMEREN	15.75	15.25	15.50	15.50	+
AMERINT	14.75	14.25	14.50	14.50	+
AMERSEC	13.75	13.25	13.50	13.50	+
AMERTELE	12.75	12.25	12.50	12.50	+
AMERWATER	11.75	11.25	11.50	11.50	+
AMERPOWER	10.75	10.25	10.50	10.50	+
AMERENERGY	9.75	9.25	9.50	9.50	+
AMERTELECOM	8.75	8.25	8.50	8.50	+
AMERTELEVISION	7.75	7.25	7.50	7.50	+
AMERTELEPHONE	6.75	6.25	6.50	6.50	+
AMERTELEGRAPH	5.75	5.25	5.50	5.50	+
AMERTELETYPE	4.75	4.25	4.50	4.50	+
AMERTELEPHONE	3.75	3.25	3.50	3.50	+
AMERTELEVISION	2.75	2.25	2.50	2.50	+
AMERTELEPHONE	1.75	1.25	1.50	1.50	+
AMERTELEVISION	0.75	0.25	0.50	0.50	+

# AMEX

**Tuesday's Closing**  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

Symbol	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
AMEX	115.75	115.25	115.50	115.50	+
AMEX	34.75	34.25	34.50	34.50	+
AMEX	28.75	28.25	28.50	28.50	+
AMEX	26.75	26.25	26.50	26.50	+
AMEX	25.75	25.25	25.50	25.50	+
AMEX	24.75	24.25	24.50	24.50	+
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AMEX	20.75	20.25	20.50	20.50	+
AMEX	19.75	19.25	19.50	19.50	+
AMEX	18.75	18.25	18.50	18.50	+
AMEX	17.75	17.25	17.50	17.50	+
AMEX	16.75	16.25	16.50	16.50	+
AMEX	15.75	15.25	15.50	15.50	+
AMEX	14.75	14.25	14.50	14.50	+
AMEX	13.75	13.25	13.50	13.50	+
AMEX	12.75	12.25	12.50	12.50	+
AMEX	11.75	11.25	11.50	11.50	+
AMEX	10.75	10.25	10.50	10.50	+
AMEX	9.75	9.25	9.50	9.50	+
AMEX	8.75	8.25	8.50	8.50	+
AMEX	7.75	7.25	7.50	7.50	+
AMEX	6.75	6.25	6.50	6.50	+
AMEX	5.75	5.25	5.50	5.50	+
AMEX	4.75	4.25	4.50	4.50	+
AMEX	3.75	3.25	3.50	3.50	+
AMEX	2.75	2.25	2.50	2.50	+
AMEX	1.75	1.25	1.50	1.50	+
AMEX	0.75	0.25	0.50	0.50	+

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**MR. GORDON TUCKER** (Ticket No. 91403) of Devon, United Kingdom, winner of BMW 750i L who travelled Royal Brunei, Dubai/London on 19th February 1992.

**MR. HASSAN ABDULLA AL-OBAYDLY** (Ticket No. 90870) of Doha, Qatar, winner of PORSCHE 911 Carrera 2 who travelled Gulf Air Dubai/Doha on 10th February 1992.

**MR. DINESH DHAMLA** (Ticket No. 92566) of London, United Kingdom, winner of Mercedes Benz 500 SEL who travelled Royal Nepal, Dubai/Kathmandu on 15th February 1992.

Symbol	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
AMEX	115.75	115.25	115.50	115.50	+
AMEX	34.75	34.25	34.50	34.50	+
AMEX	28.75	28.25	28.50	28.50	+
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AMEX	21.75	21.25	21.50	21.50	+
AMEX	20.75	20.25	20.50	20.50	+
AMEX	19.75	19.25	19.50	19.50	+
AMEX	18.75	18.25	18.50	18.50	+
AMEX	17.75	17.25	17.50	17.50	+
AMEX	16.75	16.25	16.50	16.50	+
AMEX	15.75	15.25	15.50	15.50	+
AMEX	14.75	14.25	14.50	14.50	+
AMEX	13.75	13.25	13.50	13.50	+
AMEX	12.75	12.25	12.50	12.50	+
AMEX	11.75	11.25	11.50	11.50	+
AMEX	10.75	10.25	10.50	10.50	+
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AMEX	6.75	6.25	6.50	6.50	+
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AMEX	3.75	3.25	3.50	3.50	+
AMEX	2.75	2.25	2.50	2.50	+
AMEX	1.75	1.25	1.50	1.50	+
AMEX	0.75	0.25	0.50	0.50	+

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# SPORTS KIWIS UNBEATEN

## New Zealand Pulls Away By Thrashing Zimbabwe

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
**NAPIER, New Zealand** — New Zealand scored an emphatic 48-run victory over Zimbabwe in a match almost derailed by rain Tuesday, increasing its lead in the World Cup cricket standings.

Captain Martin Crowe and Andrew Jones thrashed Zimbabwe's bowlers as the Kiwis, who have won all four of their games, scored a speedy 162 for three from 20.5 overs in an innings interrupted three times by rain.

Zimbabwe then was set a target of 154 to win in 18 overs — the

maximum number of overs possible in the time left — but struggled to 103 for seven against impressive New Zealand bowling.

Zimbabwe lost its fourth straight and is out of semifinal contention.

Gavin Larsen and Chris Harris each took three wickets for the Kiwis, who now are almost certain of a spot in the semifinals of the nine-nation tournament.

Crowe and Jones set up the victory by sharing a 127-run third wicket, during which they got 110 runs in just 9.1 overs.

Crowe reached his half-century

in just 30 balls. He and Jones scored 15 fours and two sixes before Andy Waller made an athletic catch at the boundary to dismiss Jones for 57.

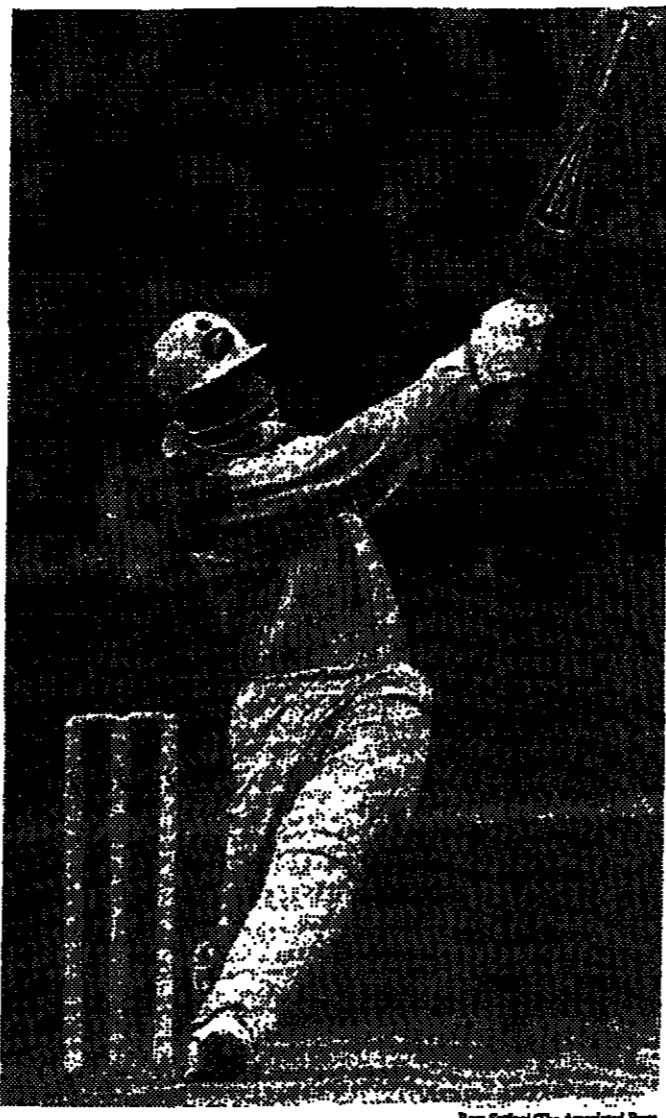
Crowe was unbeaten on 74 when the innings was closed.

The start of play was delayed for 75 minutes after a heavy drizzle settled over McLean Park, and the match was first reduced to 43 overs and then to 35.

India and Pakistan were to play at the Sydney Cricket Ground in the only match scheduled for Wednesday, while on Thursday in Sydney defending champion Australia, which has won one match and lost two, will face England, which has two victories and a no-result. South Africa and the West Indies, teams that have never met in international competition, will play in Christchurch.

India will promote Ajay Jadhava from the middle order to make his debut as an opener instead of Ravi Shastri. Shastri, 29, the all-rounder whose 25 off 70 balls in Sunday's one-run loss to Australia sparked demonstrations in his home city of Bombay, was omitted from the team announced Tuesday.

The English team said batsman Allan Lamb and all-rounder Chris Lewis were likely to miss the match against Australia. Lamb has aggravated a hamstring injury, while Lewis has a strained muscle in his side.



Martin Crowe was unbeaten on 74 when the innings was closed.

## Time of Trial for Both Europe And Returning English Clubs

**LONDON** — Ash Wednesday brings a harsh reawakening of European soccer. I doubt that any of the 36 winter hibernations of the Cup Champions' Cup has so distorted the simple ideal of playing sport together.

Who is playing whom? For what purpose and what reward? And in what degree of safety or even desire to have the matches at all?

Soccer's long history of crossing borders affords it no immunity to Eastern Europe's travails. It may actually have been easier crossing the Iron Curtain than it will be to sustain sporting links now.

Without state priority and support, such former champions as Dynamo Kiev and Steaua Bucharest must compete for income in collapsing economies.

This at a time when the Champions' Cup has abandoned the single-elimination format to run a quasi-league intended to enrich the rich and help television entrepreneurs force fans to buy licenses.

Much has gone awry. No Milan, no Juventus, no Marseille, no Bayern Munich. Instead, the "premier" competition is swash with former Eastern bloc teams whose followers might have one foot in the trenches or be more concerned with queuing for food than for pricey stadium seats.

Dynamo Kiev versus Barcelona sums up Wednesday's fare. Not long ago Kiev was effectively the Soviet Union team. The club pioneered professionalism and found ways of keeping dollars from sales of a star or two per season. Now, its national players have all defected to richer pastures. Fresh faced juniors wear Kiev's new blue and white shirts, and no one quite knows if they represent the Commonwealth of Independent States, or the breakaway Ukraine.

Last Friday, Kiev kicked off a new Ukrainian Cup with a 1-1 tie against Scala Striv. Just 935 people huddled together in the 103,000-capacity Republic Stadium. On Wednesday, the same Kiev players meet FC Barcelona, champions of Spain and champions of Catalan autonomy. The latter brings in immense crowds generating up to \$2 million for home games.

Kiev wonders whether it dare charge fans to cheer the team. "I have suggested we let the fans in free," said the general manager, Mikhail Oshenkov. "Hunger creates a different set of priorities." Oshenkov recently returned from 14 months in the United Arab Emirates, so he knows about market forces. His coach, who pushes kids into men's shoes and try to persuade them that Johan Cruyff's Barcelona stars are no better.

Can we even guess the thoughts of a Ukrainian youth preparing to stop Hristo Stoichkov from scoring for Barcelona? Stoichkov was once a Bulgarian misfit, binned for life because of his temper, and I bet no Kiev player envied him then.

MEANWHILE, Sparta Prague, having antagonized its fans by increasing ticket prices from the equivalent of 50 cents to \$1.36, journeys to Lisbon's magnificent Stadium of Light without the 12 Czech national team players who left after the 1990

World Cup. The replacements meet a Benfica attack led by a Brazilian, Isaias, and a Russian, Sergei Iuran.

And Red Star Belgrade, champion of Yugoslavia, Europe and the world, might actually prefer the guaranteed hostility of 50,000 Panathinaikos fans in Athens to the apathy of its November "home" match against Anderlecht.

The fighting in Yugoslavia diverted the match to Budapest, where 2,000 watched. Yet Red Star, which will lose such gifted players as Dejan Savicevic and Darko Pancev to Italy this summer, appears to have rediscovered pride and purpose and the players promise they will attempt to end this 12 uncertain months as they began it, as champions.

Such dilemmas, as well as the self-inflicted dulling of cup-tie essence, clouds the Champions' Cup.

A pity, because the UEFA Cup and the Cup Winners' Cup still buzz with the excitement of each round producing winners or losers. Moreover, each now faces a moment of truth on the re-entry of English clubs.

Last year, Manchester United led the way back by winning the Cup Winners' Cup against Barcelona in Rotterdam, a final free of boogymania. By police vigilance and closed circuit camera surveillance costing \$11 million a season, England curbed if not cured the curse. But Wednesday brings examination abroad.

Liverpool, the former champion whose loss caused the deaths of 39 mostly Italian spectators at Highbury in 1983, journeys to Italy for the first time since. It plays Genoa, Italy's oldest club, founded by British expatriates 99 years ago, in the UEFA Cup.

Genoa had waited a lifetime for European competition, waited and bitterly envied its rival Sampdoria bringing home European trophies. Genoa's hoodlums stoned Sampdoria celebrants, hoodlums that today are more prevalent in Italy than in England.

ALAS, England's shame was re-emphasized Saturday by the first pitch invasion for three years. Birmingham City of the third division was the victim. The idiotic fanatics swarmed across the turf after a tying goal late in the match, attacked the referee and opposing fans and left one Stoke City supporter needing emergency surgery to save an eye.

The English Football Association promises draconian action, as it must be seen to do if England hopes to play host to the 1996 European Championship. But that will not make the Carabini less likely to take pre-emptive action at a hint of trouble in Genoa.

Nor will the Dutch police be slow to act when Tottenham Hotspurs reach the port of Rotterdam to face Feyenoord, also Wednesday.

Spurs are taking 2,000 supporters, each a season ticket holder or an approved club member. Club stewards will accompany them, and ensure they arrive close to kickoff, having watched videos of how to behave.

Dutch and English police, both sadly rehearsed in riot control, have planned a military style operation. The match has intriguing and vital prospects, but I have no space to analyze them.

Why? Because I must forewarn you that the last two visits Spurs made to Feyenoord finished with 52 serious casualties in 1974 and 42 in 1983. The larger lout looms larger than the prospect of cup glory.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of the Sunday Times.

## Rubin, Latest U.S. Tennis Prodigy, Rallies to Defeat Zvereva in 3 Sets

**BOCA RATON, Florida** — Chanda Rubin, the latest American teenage tennis prodigy, upset 11th-seeded Natalia Zvereva of Russia in the first round of the Virginia Slims of Florida tournament.

Rubin, 16, roared back to overpower the 27th-ranked Zvereva, 1-6, 6-4, 6-0, on Monday.

"She was a bit shy in the first set," Zvereva said. "But then she started to play attacking tennis. I couldn't put up with her power."

The 94th-ranked Rubin, a Louisiana who turned professional at the U.S. Open last September, broke Zvereva in the first and fifth games of the second set. By the third set, Rubin was firmly in charge as she dropped a total of five points off her serve.

Rubin said the victory was worth missing annual Mardi Gras festivities in New Orleans. "Mardi Gras is a parade, party, crowds and drinking," she said with a smile. "But it's not life or death to be there. It happens every year."

## Unranked Nationally, St. John's Zeroes In on Big East Title

**NEW YORK** — St. John's is out of the rankings but in the Big East Conference champion's seat.

**COLLEGE BASKETBALL**

On the same day the Redmen dropped out of the top 25 in The Associated Press college basketball poll, after a loss to Notre Dame, they beat No. 17 Georgetown, 65-49, in Madison Square Garden in New York, clinching at least a tie for their first conference title since 1986.

Three Big East teams are ranked, but St. John's has won eight consecutive conference games.

The Redmen's last Big East loss was Jan. 29, at Georgetown, giving them a 4-5 league mark at the time.

"Nearly every team has a time in the season when it struggles," said Malik Sealy, a forward who led St. John's Monday night with 21 points. "Fortunately for us, our struggles came early. We were rock bottom, but we got up from there."

"I knew we could come back," said the coach, Lou Carnesecca,

## Books

**HONORABLE TREACHERY: A History of U.S. Intelligence, Espionage, and Covert Action from the American Revolution to the CIA**

By G. J. A. O'Toole. 591 pages. \$29.95. The Atlantic Monthly Press, 19 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Reviewed by Byron Farwell

JULIA CHILD was a U.S. spy in China? The records are still sealed, but it appears doubtful that she was cooking chow mein while employed at the OSS office in Chungking during World War II. She is but one of many unlikely people whom G. J. A. O'Toole names in this splendidly written, impeccably researched, and fascinating history of American involvement in the black arts.

Some of the characters may be well known, but the story of the first U.S. covert operation, performed by William Eaton, is probably unfamiliar to most. A Barbary Coast pirate named Yusuf Karamanli was holding American seamen — including 307 naval officers and men — as slaves and demanding an enormous ransom. Eaton, with his government's blessing, formed a mercenary army in Egypt, marched it across the desert and captured one of Karamanli's chief ports and prepared to replace the

## Best Sellers

The New York Times  
 This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

Rank	Title	Author	Weeks on List
1	RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH	Walter Dill Scott	2
2	THE ROAD TO OMAHA	Robert Ludlum	1
3	HIDEAWAY	Dean R. Koontz	1
4	SCARLETT	Alexandra Ripley	2
5	BYGONES	LaVelle Spencer	2
6	VOX	Nick Hornby	2
7	DISNEY'S BEAUTY AND THE BEAST	—	4
8	FUGITIVE NIGHTS	Joseph Heller	4
9	NEEDFUL THINGS	Stephen King	7
10	NO GREATER LOVE	Danielle Steel	12
11	PRIVATE EYES	Jonathan Kellerman	9
12	LIFE OF FIRE	W. E. B. Griffin	6
13	GUARDIAN ANGEL	Sara Paretsky	14
14	THE SUM OF ALL FEARS	Tom Clancy	13
15	MENALDY'S SECRET	Lawrence Sanders	3

## PEANUTS

## BEETLE BAILEY

## DOONESBURY

## WIZARD OF ID

## DENNIS THE MENACE

## BLONDIE

## REX MORGAN

## JUMBLE

Unscramble these four jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

DIELY  
 GYROL  
 TELKIN  
 HUNOLY

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

## GARFIELD

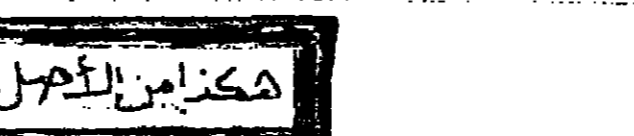
## ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS

1	A RETURN TO LOVE	Marianne Williamson	1	2
2	HOW TO SATISFY A WOMAN	—	4	13
3	MORE WEALTH WITHOUT RISK	Charles J. Givens	2	13
4	AWAKEN THE GIANT WITHIN	By Anthony Robbins	3	8
5	FRENCH FOR CATS	Henry Beard and John Boewell	4	

## Answers to Jumble

Yesterday's Jumble: TUNED WHOSE LEAVEN RELISH  
 Answer: What he was when it came to poetry—WELL-VERSED

\* I GET ALL MY NEWS FROM CARTOONS. \*









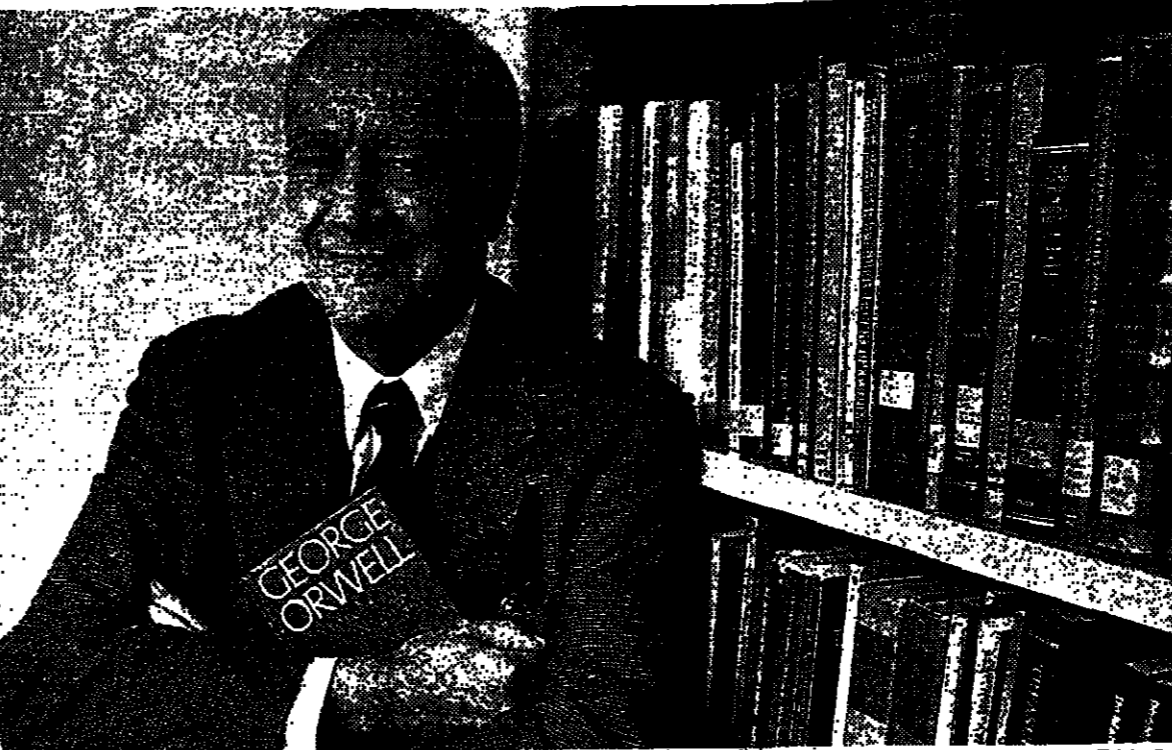
PEOPLE

POSTCARD Embracing (Fr)anglais

By Alan Riding
English is so fashionable among French teenagers that the use of English words and phrases has created a sort of "Franglais" slang...

Framing Off-Center With Joseph Strick

By Mike Zwerin
PARIS — Orson Welles said that the opportunity to make a movie is the best electric train you can get...



Joseph Strick wants to film George Orwell's "Down and Out in London and Paris" in the present.

about this for "nutty"? He made the rounds pitching a production of "Remembrance of Things Past" (He needed a partner, he's past the point of cameras held together by Scotch tape, costs are getting out of sight, he's got five children to send through college)...

Buchwald's Bottom Line \$5 Million in Film Case
Lawyers for Art Buchwald and Paramount Pictures presented widely different calculations of how much the humorist should be paid for the idea for the movie "Coming to America"...

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED BUSINESS MESSAGE CENTER

Grid of classified advertisements including: PERSONALS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, REAL ESTATE FOR SALE, REAL ESTATE TO RENT/SHARE, ATTENTION EXECUTIVES, IMPORT/EXPORT, BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES, CONFERENCE, RECYCLE '92 FORUM AND EXPOSITION, BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES, BANK REPRESENTATIVES, NEW YORK CITY RESTAURANT FOR LEASE, AVAILABLE CAPITAL, ATTENTION MANUFACTURER, TRADE SALES COMPANY, INTERNATIONAL OFFSHORE COMPANY INCORPORATIONS, WATER PURIFICATION, BECOME WEALTHY!, RIVIERA SEASIDE HOTEL, MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE, 78A QUAI VOLTAIRE, AUTOMOBILES, ARMORED VEHICLES, AUTOS TAX FREE, MARRIAGE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT INTERBANK RATES, LONDON TRADING DESK, AGEDI, SHIPSIDE, OCEANWIDE MOTORS, AIR WORLDWIDE TAX FREE CARS, LICENCE PLATES EXPIRY, AUTO SERVICES.

Grid of classified advertisements including: AUTOMOBILE MARKET, ARMORED VEHICLES, AUTOS TAX FREE, MARRIAGE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AT INTERBANK RATES, LONDON TRADING DESK, AGEDI, SHIPSIDE, OCEANWIDE MOTORS, AIR WORLDWIDE TAX FREE CARS, LICENCE PLATES EXPIRY, AUTO SERVICES.

Large vertical advertisement for French Diet, featuring a bottle of the product and text: "Diagruntl... Ce Buch... A New Wa...".